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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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RUNNING COMMENT.

ON HAPPENINGS THAT ARE IN THE PUBLIC EYE.

Mainspring of Bourgeois Patriotism—Senators Shake Hands After Fake Fight—Why the President Plied the Big Stick on the New Haven Road—"No Politics in the Union" of Lawyers.

A Wiesbaden, Germany, dealer in cosmetics chips in a matchless contribution to the patriotism of the bourgeois. The Kaiser being announced to arrive in Wiesbaden, the following advertisement appeared in the local papers:

"The Emperor Is Coming!!!

"The style of His Majesty's moustache is no longer sharply upwards. It is now rather sideways with only the tips twisted up. Esteemed gentlemen and patriots, if you desire to reach this style of moustache, purchase a vial of 'Imperial Moustache Cream, for 40 phfenig at the Court Hair-Dresser W. Sulzbatch's, Baerenstrasse, No. 4."

Prof. Paul Milyoukov, the advocate of gentle measures in Russia, is being taught a lesson that a professor of history and philosophy should be able to teach others. His gentleness of methods to overthrow Czarism came near causing him to be physically knocked down in the Duma by the representatives of the Czar. 'Tis love's labor lost to seek to kill a tiger by "gently" pulling one by one the hairs of his moustache.

Was it a Christian spirit that moved Senators Aldrich, Hale, Hopkins, Smoot and others, whom La Follette pitchforked in his recent great speech as devourers of the people's inheritance, that caused these gentlemen to rush forward and shake hands with La Folllette when he returned to the Senate after his late illness? And was it a belief in the repentance of these Senators that caused La Follette to return the handshakes with warmth? Not a bit of it. The performance meant: "We all played our part of the comedy nicely; now let us turn in and humbug the people some more."

S. F. Vanni of this city—the agent of "L'Asino," an illustrated Italian paper issued in Rome, that wages relentless war against social wrongs and clerical corruption—announces in a stiff circular that "the Protestant and Catholic clergy, mutual enemies before God, but friends in common interests," have succeded in "wrenching from the Post Master General" an order prohibiting the admission of "L'Asino" through the mails. Speaking in the name of "L'Asino," Vanni announces to the Italian public that the matter will not be allowed to rest there. Nor can it.

With a great blaze of trumpets the Federal Attorney General has at last brought suit against the New Haven Road under the Sherman act. This sudden awakening to the majesty of the law happens at a season when the New England delegation to the Republican national convention threatens to do as it pleases, and something must be done to curb it. Instead of the procedure being in vindication of the majesty of the law, it trails the majesty some more in the mud.

From Berlin via London comes the information that the Kaiser had positively counted upon seeing Cornelius Vanderbilt appointed American ambassador to Germany. The Kaiser's reasons were that Cornelius had "distinguished himself" among his countrymen in treating Prince Henry right royally when he visited America. The Kaiser is "catching on."

One of the two—either the National Association of Manufacturers, in banquet assembled, have become traitors to their class and gone over to the Working Class, or they were too drunk to know what they were doing when they stood up and cheered their President's motto—"Not Capital against Labor, but Order against Chaos."

Unthinking people often ridicule the idea of the possibility of Socialism. Such people recall to mind the fact that Daniel Webster once ridiculed the possibility of the present State of Washington becoming a part of the Union, on the ground that a Senator elected from that State could not reach the National capital before the expiration of his term of office. There were no railroads then. To-day Washington is a State of the Union, and Socialism has a foothold there. The Daily People reaches Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane subscribers in half the time it took Webster to get to Washington, D. C., when first elected to the U. S. Senate from Massachusetts.

The article in this issue entitled "Railroaders!" is truly an eye-opener. Every railroader, even if he can see no further than his own nose, all people who can see further than their noses, even if they be not railroaders, should read the article—and PASS IT ALONG. It explains the chicane methods of the Railroad Princes (and for that matter, of all other capitalist concerns) to fabricate pretexts for public sympathy, for higher prices and for lower wages.

The "No politics in the Union!" slogan of mixed ignorance and duplicity has just gone up from a most unexpected corner—a new "Lawyers' Association," inspired by ex-Judge John F. Dillon. In genuine "No politics in the Union!" style the new Association will "fight Socialism" to the bitter end, and even if the members of the Association are cut to pieces, their "little toes will eternally wiggle" against Socialism.

Nothing but the threat made by several Senators that they would insert documents showing illegal rebates by Paul Morton, and showing that the Republican Administration and the Steel Trust are cheek by jowl, kept out of the Congressional Record certain campaign documents against Bryan that the Republican Senator, Gallinger of New Hampshire, wished inserted in his speech.

The New York "Evening Post" blandly calls "asses" the elite members who are figuring so conspicuously in criminal, divorce, and other such proceedings. The "Post's" theory must be that those of its clientele who have not yet been "caught" are clever dodgers of the criminal code. They have been "clever" only so far. But time and tide come to all "asses." Let not the "Post" despair.

The Port Washington, N. Y., genius, who furnished the Associated Press with the news of the strike of the 400 unutterably rascally Italian sand workers, who demanded a raise from $1.50 to $1.75 a day, rather overdid the job of trying to represent these Italians as fiends incarnate. He said that the Epworth Leaguers were holding their convention in the place, and that "the foreign maledictions of the strikers were mixing with the hymns of the Epworth Leaguers." The "foreign maledictions" having been in Italian, they must undoubtedly have consisted of such pious exclamations as "Corpo di Cristo!", "Santa Maria!", "Santa Barbara!", etc. — surely hymnal utterances. The Port Washington dispatch suggests the question: "Seeing that both camps were using hymnal words, which was on strike, the Epworth Leaguers against the hell fire of capitalism that is consuming so many a Leaguer, or the Italian workers against the identical hell fire that is frying them in the frying pan held by the capitalist Satan?"

"A spectacle of physical decrepitude and moral laxity to which only a morbid imagination could add a darkening touch," is how Tom C. Platt, presiding at the immolation of Mae Wood, is described. What more fitting phrase could be inscribed as the epitaph of the social system of the Platts, soon to be buried in the hundred-year deep grave of its own digging?

The Committee on the Library of Congress has hit upon a brilliant thought. It realizes that the speeches in the House of Representatives are below par. From this undeniable fact the Committee concludes that the way to raise the tone of the speeches is—to educate the members? No!—is to make the hall smaller. The Committee expects to produce orators, not by equipping the orators, but by circumscribing the hall they "speak into."

The New York Jewish "Warheit" suggests that the S. L. P. endorse Debs, and thus get the progressive S. P. element that favors an advanced revolutionary attitude. It is unlikely that the S. L. P. will endorse a man who, after having during the last three years spoken loudly in favor of Industrialism as a Socialist necessity, and against A. F. of L. craft Unionism, now accepts a nomination from a convention that votes down overwhelmingly even a mere recommendation of Industrialism. The surest way to lose the respect of the progressive element in the land would be for the S. L. P. to hitch itself to a candidate who does not seem to know his own mind, and to a fly-paper platform. The Hour calls for men and things of sterner stuff.

A Mrs. Corbin, who calls herself a "thoughtful woman," is against Socialism and universal suffrage. The lady's reasoning was meant for some funny paper like Puck, with appropriate illustrations. It is this: Socialism and universal suffrage will make woman self-supporting and independent; being self-supporting and independent, woman will become a debauchee—which no "thoughtful woman" would like to be.

One day one hears of a bank, run by an Italian, being closed, funds and banker gone, and the homes of the depositors ruined; next day one hears of the establishment of one of these Americanized swindlers blown up by his defrauded and infuriated countrymen. When the latter "blow-up" takes place, "Shame!" cries the sympathetic bourgeois — thrilling with sympathy for the "blow-upee." When the former "blow-up" takes place, "Clever fellow to have got off with all that cash!" thinks the sympathetic bourgeois—enviously sympathetic.

For a lot of bare-faced hypocrites give us the gentlemen who met at Lake Mohonk, N. Y., and expressed their gratification at this year's advance made in suppressing international war. With more and ever more warships launched, higher and higher military appropriations made, and the Big Stick swung ever and ever more aggravatingly under the noses of foreign powers, for people to talk of "progress towards peace" their cheeks must have a double layer of paste to keep the blushes concealed.

Miss Bella Bruce has discovered the cause of the servant problem. According to the young lady, "if women had the training for household affairs that men have for business", everything would be in apple-pie order. It is evident that Miss Bella Bruce has not heard of the financial and industrial crisis into which the men "trained for business" have landed the country.

The divorce colony at Pierre, S. D., has received a new settler—Mrs. Mansfield M. Doty, until recently a conspicuous figure in the fashionable West End of New York. Mrs. Doty's reasons for demanding a divorce from her husband are cogent. The Security Company, of which he was president, having failed, he is impoverished. To stay with him would mean to go and live in the country. As a genuine pillar of the sanctity of the family Mrs. Doty wouldn't think of such a thing. What sanctity can there be out of the fashionable circle, and occasionally, perhaps, doing some domestic chores?

"The Stenographers' Magazine," organ of the Stenographers' Association of New York, proudly reminds its readers that they are "asked to remember that it is the loyalty of advertisers which makes our magazine possible." Conversely, it must be the magazine's "loyalty" to its advertisers which keeps the advertisers "loyal." With so much "loyalty" there must needs be some disloyalty — and the stenographers themselves get it all. The working class must build up its own press, free from subsidies of capitalist advertisers.

ARITHMETIC LEFT OUT

A Chicago firm, towards the celebrity of whose name we care not to contribute by stating it, announces in a large number of papers a "9,059-Word Business Book" to be had for the outlay of just 1 cent. The announcement informs the cent spender of all the things that the acquisition of the book will enable him to do. It will enable him to "boost his salary", if he is an employee, and it will enable him to "increase his profits", if he is an employer. In short, the book will "start the purchaser on the road to better things" by equipping him with "priceless business experience squeezed from 112 big, successful men." It is quite obvious that a knowledge of elemental arithmetic is not among the equipments that the priceless 9,059-Word Business Book furnishes.

A simple argument will prove the fact.

Say that every employee in the land were to invest that penny, get the equipment, and (the advertisement will, of course, keep its promise) "boost" his salary. And say that, simultaneously, the employers of these employees were also to make the penny investment and get the equipment—could the latter set simultaneously "increase their profits?" Or, inversely,—say that these employers were to take the lead, make the penny investment; acquire the equipment; and, as promised by the advertisement, "increase their profits"; and that, close upon the employers' heels, the employees also were to chip in their penny each, and get the equipment—could these, simultaneously with their employers, "boost their salary"?

It is a problem in arithmetic. The problem resolves itself into this—to divide a whole in such a way that both sides get a bigger slice. Arithmetic teaches the thing can not be done.

Profits and wages come out of ONE heap—the heap of wealth raised by the toil of the worker. Out of that heap the employer takes his share, which he calls "profits"; out of that heap the employee receives his share, called wages. Arithmetic teaches that, if profits are "increased", the increase must be made at the expense of what is left of the heap for wages; and, vice versa, if wages are "boosted", the boosting must be done at the expense of what remains in the heap for "profits". Simultaneously to "boost" wages and "increase" profits is like a proposition to increase the number of quart measures taken out of a gallon.

The 9,059-Word Business Book may be full of information as an egg is of meat. Yet information on one thing it does not contain. That thing is—PLAIN ARITHMETIC.

RAILROADERS!

HERE IS AN EYE-OPENER FOR YE—HAVE YE EYES TO SEE?

Railroads Are Making More Money Than Ever — Not Only is Tonnage Larger, but Great Reductions Made in Running Forces — Effect Shown in Towering Stock and Bond Quotations—And Yet the Howl Is "We Are Losing Money"—Why the Howl?—First, to Secure Increased Freight Rates—Second, a Pretext to Cut Down Wages.

Blue Island, Ill., May 18.—I would like someone who is posted upon the manipulation of R. R. stocks and bonds to answer how the railways of this country can be losing money, and why they are appealing for an increased freight rate or a reduction in wages of their employes, while at the same time stocks are increasing point by point?

Freight rates have not been reduced since this financial depression set in, and up until this time the roads were doing a great volume of business. Consequently, there were big dividends. The C. R. I. & P. did $3,000,000 more business during the last fiscal year than any other road in Chicago, and more than it ever did before, according to its own financial reports. Yet, president Winchel says they are "losing money"!

Now, here is where I am stuck. The tonnage for westbound merchandise trains out of Chicago was 1,300 tons, or 50 cars, when they were doing a large business. Now, in this depression of business, the tonnage of these same trains is 1,500 tons, or 65 cars, an increase of 200 tons and 15 cars per train, handled with the same number of men per train; thus we see here, at this point, 6 trains put into 5; a consequent profit to the railway corporation; and a loss to one engineer ($7.45), to one conductor ($5.34), to one fireman ($5.07), to two brakemen ($4 each), making a total of $25.86 that the company has saved by increasing the tonnage on just 5 crews, to say nothing about the wear and tear of the one engine saved. This has been practiced by all roads, and help has been laid off on the road on sections, in shops, roundhouses, freight sheds, and yard crews—these have been cut down—just enough to do the work, and not very well, at that. In fact, expenses have been reduced wherever a dollar could be saved, stocks increase in value, and yet the owners are "losing money"! This is what I do not understand and what I want to know about.

I have given these tonnage figures for the purpose of showing that the corporations are not losing any money on the tons of freight handled. And still they are howling for an increase of freight rates, and threaten to cut wages if it is not granted. On the other hand, the Manufacturers' Association threatens to get an injunction against the carriers; and where are we going to get off, we that are slaving to make more money, money for the DRIVER?

The general manager of the L. S. & M. S. R'way says that just so sure as the sun shines there will be a cut on the New York Central lines if the Commission does does not grant the increased rates.

Will they use the servile Railway Brotherhood organizations as they did to keep the 2-cent passenger rate down and to help to get a higher freight rate by the threat of a cut?

I say—"Railway men, wake up! Organize to take this economic power out of the hands of a few and try it for the use of your own class awhile."

Thos. J. Cole.

HARTFORD BAKERS

Have Good Prospects of Winning Strike.

Hartford, Conn., May 19.—The strike of the Hartford bakers against the Boston grocery firm is now in its third week, and things are looking favorable to the strikers. The Boston firm is having its business turned topsy-turvy by the effects of employing non-union labor. It cannot turn out any decent product, and much of the baked goods are returned because of their poor quality. As a consequence, the trade of the firm is being badly crippled. Some of the drivers who distribute the products, when spoken to upon the situation, shake their heads and say, "The less said the better. You know how it is."

The strike was caused by the firm's claim that the union bakers could not produce the class of goods desired. The real motive was the intention to get the open shop. The union accepted the ultimatum and immediately struck. Since then the firm had about four bakers in the strikers' places. The union visited these men and paid them each their way back to Boston.

Last Saturday the firm made another attempt to secure men. The foreman was sent to Boston and he brought back three men, two of whom were hired under false pretenses. They were told there was no strike. One of these men, when learning the situation, would not work. The union paid him his fare to Boston.

The big room where the firm housed the strike breakers is now empty. There is no one sleeping in the beds. Two helpers who did not go out with the strikers are feeling the results of their scabby work. One of them is sick from overwork. Some of the non-union men were worked as long as 22 hours at a stretch and receiving less pay than given to the union men.

The grocery firm is evidently weakening. The losing of its strike breakers and the having its products returned are having their effects.

Up until yesterday private detectives had been employed to loiter around the shop, but these men are apparently dismissed. They are no longer seen.

Unionist.

SAYS WORKMEN HAVE NO VOTE.

Startlingly Frank Utterance of Prof. Chas. Zueblin.

Chicago, May 23.—A revolutionary revision of, or even the abolition of the constitution of the United States, was advocated by Professor Charles Zueblin, of the University of Chicago, in an address delivered at the annual banquet of the Psi Upsilon Alumni Association of the Northwest last night. He spoke on "The Fundamental Fallacy of Our Government," and illustrated his theory with criticisms of American political conditions.

The professor prophesied the coming of woman suffrage and also declared that workingmen are practically as much disfranchised as the women.

Professor Zueblin urged home rule and the referendum, and closed by telling his hearers that the Constitution is an eighteenth century document and by its influence is keeping our laws in the same century. He advocated its radical revision or its abolition and the substitution of an unwritten Constitution, such as England's.

LONDON LETTER.

Boiler Makers' Secretary Urges Greater Unity.

London, May 10.—D. C. Cummings, the general secretary of the Boiler Makers' Society, in his introduction to the Annual Report for 1907, calls attention to the loosely-organized condition of the workers in the shipbuilding and engineering industries, and urges the need for unification. He declares that the prevailing conditions render industrial harmony impossible, and calls for the amalgamation, where possible and beneficial, of the unions engaged in these industries, and the alteration of the whole basis of the Shipbuilding and Engineering Trades Federation in order to secure the "complete unity of its units." "It may be urged," he says, "that such cohesion among workmen would be productive of greater and more frequent industrial struggles. On the contrary, their very strength would lessen them, for the strength on each side would be more equal, and the respect for each other would correspondingly increase with the increasing equality of the strength of both. That a great struggle might result, unless other steps were taken to prevent it, is, perhaps, true, and I am firmly convinced that industrial peace is impossible without a law of compulsory conciliation and arbitration is quickly brought into operation."

The total income of the Boiler Makers' Union for 1907 was £195,715, and fell short of the total disbursements by the enormous sum of £28,000. The total cash balance at the end of 1907 was £290,570, against £318,964 at the close of the precious year. The membership of the Society at the end of 1907 was 52,776, an increase of 720. Mr. Cummings regrets that the members should have had so little faith in their elected officials as to reject the financial proposals submitted to them some time ago. A finance committee, however, was appointed, and Mr. Cummings says, "Soon after this address is before you, that Committee will be commencing their labors. A great responsibility is theirs. The future financial stability of the Society rests upon them. Will they rise to the occasion and bring about comprehensive and lasting reforms? To deal in a pettifogging manner by cutting off here and there a few pounds from official salaries, as suggested by some branches, is to miss the real object of the meeting together of the Committee; and, as well as being both mean and contemptible, is also a mockery and a sham. It is not pettifogging reform that is needed, but comprehensive and drastic remedies, if they are to cut out the cancerous growths that eat with deadly sureness into the very vitals of our organization."

The news is just to hand of an agreement between four printers' trades unions, which may resolve itself into an amalgamation of interests affecting 40,000 men. Some time ago the London Society of Compositors extended their radius from fifteen to forty miles, with the result that the Typographical Association complained that the legitimate field of its own activities was encroached upon. The dispute thus occasioned was ultimately referred to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, and the parties were advised to try to settle the matter by amalgamation. Accordingly, a conference was held last Thursday and Friday at Salford, when representatives were present from the London Society of Compositors, the Typographical Association, the Scottish Typographical Association, and the London Machine Managers' Society. A satisfactory settlement was arrived at, whereby the threatened rivalry of the two English Typographical Unions was avoided, and a close working agreement between the four organizations was secured. When the proposals are submitted to general meetings of the Societies concerned at an early date, their ratification is regarded as practically certain.

COTTON WORKERS' WAGES AGAIN REDUCED.

Fall River, Mass., May 25.—The new wage agreement between the cotton manufacturers and the textile council, which will be in force until next November, became effective to-day. Under the agreement the 25,000 operatives accept a wage reduction of 17.94 per cent. The mills here have been running on short time for several months.

The cut in this city swells the number of cotton operatives in New England whose wages have been reduced this spring to about 170,000.

OPPORTUNISM

DOMINANT NOTE OF SOCIALIST PARTY CONVENTION.

Extraordinary Straddling Covers Everything in Sight—Shows Atavistic Tendencies — Radical Overhauling Required.

Chicago, May 15.—Resolutions that straddle the trades union question, but straddle it in such a manner as to leave the straddler in such fix that whenever he seeks to maintain his balance he is compelled to show that he can find his centre of gravity only on the A. F. of L. side of the straddle—and, which, moreover, are at loggerheads with the declarations of the International Socialist Congress; a position taken on the Immigration question which caters to and is in the last analysis a virtual adoption of the reactionary, job-conserving, "inferior races" attitude of the same A. F. of L.—and again opposed to the decisions of the International Congress; an absolute refusal to consider the important matter of Socialist Unity in America—a still more flagrant denial of the direct urgings of the International Congress; and, further, the unchallenged characterization of those same decisions and that same congress, the one as "International dogma," the other as a "bunch of European intellectuals" who can't tell us what to do here in America: such were the most important features of the deliberations of the National Convention of the Socialist Party of America.

To the mind of the writer it matters not whether or not the lengthy preamble and platform being adopted, may contain a beautiful dissertation on the principles and philosophy of Socialism; or if the long string of immediate demands include everything from the populistic national ownership of railroads to the reformers' taxing of church property; the question to be considered is: does the general attitude taken and held upon the matters that are of vital interest to us as Socialists, spell pro- or retro-gression?

In the De Leon lecture on Unity, the S. P. is called one of the "Socialist Family." Does the action of this convention of that member of the family mean the acquisition of more robust health, or the intensification of its particular variety of disease which will eventually make necessary an operation for the removal of its vermiform appendix of pure and simple politicalism?

Publish the resolutions and declarations referred to and the readers can judge for themselves. The writer with the advantage of personal observation of the proceedings, could plainly discern as it were, the goddess of political opportunism hovering around the assemblage, feeding to her victims here the rusty nails of Gompersism, and there the tin cans of Bergerism. He knows—if the experience of a decade counts for anything—that the assimilating organs of the socialist movement have developed far beyond the ostrich stage. He knows that an abuse which even at the ostrich stage has a limit, will at this stage surely call for the speedy attention of the great surgeon of economic necessity.

Originally, I had hoped to have written a brief daily size-up of the convention, and by the way, the antics of the controlling element presented a strong temptation to treat the affair as one would describe the doings of one of the Central Federated Union Circus gatherings. But, there were sincere, earnest, albeit misguided or rather undeveloped men present who will in the time to come be in at the clinic to assist in the surgical operation which must needs be performed. Thus, it is as well that untoward personal circumstances interfered, and I am now able to begin a series of write-ups with the advantage of calmer deliberation and greater perspective.

But, I will say here, that in view of what I have observed during this convention, if I am to consider the Socialist Party as such a member of the socialist family, I shall feel compelled to look upon it as a diseased member, with atavistic tendencies, which will require drastic treatment before it can be regenerated and strengthened so that it may take its place beside its fellow-members in the family struggle for emancipation.

In further communications, some interesting details which will throw more light on above statements, will be given.

S. J. French.

LABOR AND THE CHURCH

Correspondent of Paterson "Morning Call" Differs with the Rev. Dr. Hamilton.

Paterson, May 15.

To the Editor of The Call:—The writer was pleased to see the very able and stirring sermon delivered by the Rev. Dr. Hamilton and published in your issue of Monday, but having read it was not able to agree with him in all he says, and would therefore ask you to kindly grant me the privilege of a little space in your valuable paper in which to reply to his remarks and also ask him a few questions.

If the audience at St. Paul's church were given the privilege of asking questions of the speaker after the conclusion of his sermon, as is now being done in some of the churches, I should very probably have been at the church to listen to him, but as that is not the custom in any of the churches of this city, I prefer to stay away. But as I do not wish to take up too much of your valuable space with preliminaries I will endeavor to come at once to the point and state wherein I differ with the doctor.

The questions arising out of the relations of capital and labor are, to-day, and are becoming more so as time goes on, the most important questions that occupy the public mind, as admitted by Secretary Taft, the late Mark Hanna and many other men of prominence and intelligence, and those questions will, sooner or later, as Secretary Taft says, be settled for good. But I fail to see how anything like what Dr. Hamilton said in his sermon will help in any way to bring about that settlement, and while the church in general to-day is ignoring or assuming a neutral attitude on those questions the time is coming and may not be very far distant when it will be compelled to take a definite position on those questions.

But to come to the point. The doctor opens his remarks with the text, "Can Two Walk Together Unless They Be Agreed?" Why, of course not, and so long as capital and labor, as represented by capitalist and laborers, or employers and employed, as we wish to make that distinction in order to avoid confusion in the matter, as considered in the abstract there is no antagonism between the two, but in the concrete, as employers and employed, there is, and as they bear the same relations toward each other as they do at the present time they never can agree for long, and all the preaching of the clergy cannot make them agree, for the simple reason that the interests of the two are diametrically opposite to each other.

Is it not a fact that, under present economic conditions, capitalists and working people are working together for the production of wealth, and when it comes to the division of the product the more the one takes as its share the less there remains for the other? If one takes seventy-five per cent. there is only twenty-five per cent. for the other, and the fight that is now on and will continue until it is settled for good, is to decide what division of the product is the right one. The doctor says he believes in the worker getting a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, which remarks are very ambiguous and do not enlighten us upon the question in any way. Who will say what is a fair day's pay, or on the other side what is a fair profit? The doctor says it is not the church's mission to interfere in such questions as are dividing capital and labor. Is it not the church's place to decide what is right and what is wrong? Are there no points of ethics involved in the questions between capital and labor? It seems to the writer there must be, and if so, who should be better fitted to decide such matters than the church?

The doctor says that what is needed is not competition, but co-operation, from which one would naturally infer that he favors Socialism, for if the writer understands the Socialists' position, and he believes he does, that is what they advocate, the substitution of co-operation for competition. And yet the doctor says the church is not going into politics or Socialism. What are we to understand by such remarks? He also says that capital must not fight labor, nor must labor fight capital. Can the doctor explain how to prevent them from fighting each other as long as their economic interests are as in the position of buyer and seller? And is it not an economic law (and economic laws, like all other natural laws, we take it, are God's laws) that the more plentiful laborers are the cheaper they become and the better it is for the employers who are buying labor and, consequently, the worse it must be for those who have nothing to sell but their labor and by so doing sell themselves, for if a man's labor power is not a part of himself, what is it?

The doctor in his remarks repudiates the claim made by some whom he chooses to call demagogues, that society is divided into classes. If there are no such things as classes in society and that a part of society is not in a position of servitude, what are we to infer from the remarks wherein he says that "If labor cannot win its freedom from its servitude and strike off its shackles?" The doctor also disclaims the statement that the pulpit is subsidized by wealth. It may not be in all cases, but while he denies it there are other ministers who have frankly admitted it, and the writer could give the name of a very prominent clergyman who has held a position in the city for a longer period than the doctor and still holds it, who told the writer some time ago that "it did not pay him to preach the truth." The clergyman referred to at one time took a position in regard to capital and labor that his conscience told him was correct, as he stated before his congregation. He said that some were leaving his congregation on that account, but others were joining for the same reason and that he intended to continue along that line regardless of consequences, because, as he had already stated, he believed it to be right. But, shortly afterward the conference met and the clergyman was censured by the other ministers of the city at that conference, all due to the influence, indirectly if not directly, of a wealthy manufacturer who was a member of one of the churches of that denomination.

The doctor also says that the church can do certain things, some of which he mentions, as "It can plead for a sufficient living wage," "It can lift up its voice against the degradation and exploitation of children who are forced into labor at an age which means for them only misery and hardship," "These and many other things it can do, is doing and will continue to do." We admit the church could do much along the lines which the doctor mentions if it would, but we beg differ with him when he says it does, except it be in a general way, which does not count much and has very little influence.

What was the attitude of the church in the case of one of the Southern States some time ago, when a particular law regarding the employment of child labor was in the way of certain capitalists who wanted to employ child labor, and was repealed? Did the church in that locality raise its voice against such action, or was it silent on the matter? We think that if the doctor will look up the facts in the case he will find the church was silent.

The writer has been a wage worker, and is now an employer, but still holds the same views as to the relations of capital and labor that he previously held, as the same economic laws operate now that he is an employer that were in operation when he was a wage worker. And while the writer has changed his economic position, it has not changed the laws that govern men's actions in earning a livelihood, and facts remain facts just the same. And to tell people to be good and considerate of the other fellow's interest will not make them so, unless they can see that it is to their own interest. Men's economic interests detemine their actions to a much greater extent than Dr. Hamilton may be willing to admit, but, whether we admit it or not, it remains a fact just the same, and, until the church does interest itself in economic and social questions it cannot expect to accomplish much in the way of making this world a better place in which to live.—F. W. B., in Paterson, N. J., "Morning Call."

MEN WHO CANNOT BE HALTED.

We fear that too many of our friends let a condition discourage them. The panic is raging sure enough; many are out of work and many more are on short time. Nevertheless, the S. L. P. propaganda can be driven home now of all times. Don't let the hard luck stories turn you away—use the stories to point a moral. Our young comrade Harry D. Froehlich, of St. Louis, Mo., is to the fore again. He turns in ten six months' subscriptions to the Weekly People; and from Butte, Montana, F. Isler sends four new ones; Dr. Ensign, from up the State, sends two for the Daily People; over in New Jersey, C. Sperle, gets in two for the Daily People; from far off California F. Hitchings sends five yearlies to the Weekly People; from Kansas City, Mo., Comrade Schwitzgabel sends two to the Weekly People. Join these active ones and the list of readers will mount steadily.

FACTS THAT KNOCK THEORIES.

The man who falls back on the panic, throws up his hands, and says, "Subscriptions cannot be secured now," will have to overcome the practical argument to the contrary, set up by Comrade Robert Strach of San Antonio, Texas, who sends five yearly subscription to the Weekly People and a three months' subscription to the Daily People. Join the Active Brigade and do your share of the Party's work.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND POLITICAL ACTION

By J. C. M., in the Edinburgh Socialist.

A certain pastor, in coming across a rather cranky text in the course of the Scripture lesson, is said to have dismissed it with the following words: "My friends, let us look this difficulty boldly in the face—and pass on." That seems to be pretty much the policy of certain industrialists toward the question of proletarian political action. They propose to ignore it altogether with all the sagacity of the hunted ostrich. That solution would certainly save us a wonderful deal of labor and drudgery. Party work, while it undoubtedly has its compensations, is not by any means a recreation. But is this policy possible? I think not, and for two reasons.

In the first place, as realists we have to face facts as we find them and not as we would wish them to be. We are living in a society with a constitutional government, based upon a more or less extended franchise. While we openly avow our desire and intention to overthrow the existing constitution, we cannot, without exposing ourselves to the charge of cowardice and unreason, neglect any opening that said constitution may offer us for stating our demands, and supporting them by logical argument like reasonable people. From the days of the Folkmoot of the Teutonic and Celtic tribes of early Britain down to the Parliament (and its local authorities) of the year of grace nineteen hundred and eight, the representative assembly has been initiated, developed and extended as a means for the peaceful solution of differences between individuals and sections in society. The other day I received a letter from a comrade and personal friend of whose sincerity and honesty of purpose I am quite convinced, although he has adopted the anti-political position, but whom I hope to see clothed in his right mind ere long. He said, referring to certain statements in the pamphlet which appeared in our last issue, "The Socialist Labor Party—Its Aims and Methods"; "Does any rational being expect the capitalist class to surrender peaceably"—or words to that effect. If that is a conundrum, I give it up. As I said before, I do not possess the prophetic powers which enable our anti-political friends to deliver positive revelations a la Brigham Young and the Apostle John, as to what the future has in store for us. I am an unimaginative person, unable to rise above the sordid realities of the present. What the capitalist will do, God and the anti-politicals alone know. I do not. I know that for some time Socialists and Industrial Unionists will be in a minority, and will be forced to justify themselves to the great majority of the workers, many of whom are already watching and considering our aims and methods. I am equally certain that, having at hand peaceful and constitutional means of expressing our views and demands, we shall, by adopting the anti-political tactics, inevitably alienate those whom we wish to win over to our ranks. They are not philosophic minds. Their appreciation of fine points is not great. They do not know, any more than the profoundest Marxian, whether or not Capital will surrender peaceably. But they most certainly will turn against the man that hands out the first brick, whether it be capitalist or industrialist. If the Industrial Union decides to place itself in the idiotic posture of making an unnecessary appeal to physical force, it will put itself hopelessly in the wrong and transform itself from a living movement of the proletariat to a small uninfluential sect of wrangling doctrinaires. Even in the matter of minor disputes on questions of wages and hours of labor, the Union will first of all state its demands and even support the statement by argument, through its elected officials and delegates. It will not go out on strike and leave the boss to find out for himself what they want. It is difficult to see any valid reason why a practice that applies in a small matter, should be departed from in dealing with the great end that the Industrial Union has in view.

The second reason is based on a fact which the opposite party seem to have lost sight of altogether—namely, that while the political is the reflex of the economic, it is none the less true that the political reacts upon the economic. This is so well known as to be almost a commonplace. As cases in point, we need only notice the fluctuations in the price of Consols which are periodically caused by Cabinet changes and Parliamentary proposals; the decrease in the Kaffir stocks caused by the anti-Chinese labor agitation; and the panic in Wall Street which resulted from certain blustering speeches delivered by Theodorus Imperator, the Czar of All the Americas. These influences will certainly operate upon the Industrial Union, if not materially, at least intellectually. In a society with a moderately democratic governmental machinery such as ours, political influences would simply soak into the Union. The Industrialist organization cannot trifle with this position. Given the acceptance of the anti-political policy, either of two courses are open to them. Firstly, they may make abstention from electoral action of any kind a condition of membership, exclude members of parties or those who use their votes, and punish by expulsion those who, having become members, resort to such baneful practices. If they do that, their doom is sealed. They propose to unite the working class, and will show their sincerity by excluding not only the most advanced and progressive sections, such as members of the various Socialist parties, but, in addition, the mass of workers who are still in bondage to the old parties. The only section, if section it can be called, which this policy will gain, will be a handful of anarchistic rainbow chasers. Mark you, I do not accuse the anti-politicals of being anarchists. It is quite irrational to hand about that epithet to those with whom we disagree. I merely point to the fact that if this policy were to be rigidly interpreted in the rules and constitution, the anarchists would be the only section which would be eligible to join, outside of the two or three metaphysical disputants who have initiated this controversy.

On the other hand, they might make their anti-political declaration a "pious opinion," a statement of the views of the temporarily dominant faction, without enforcing the adhesion to it on the part of individual members. In that case, either the revolutionary section of the members (in a political sense) would gain the upper hand at the next conference, or the union would disintegrate, as a miltant organization, through the influence of political corruption. It is simply impossible, the historic and social condition of the British nation being what they are, to keep out of electoral action. Living, as we do, in an environment so intensely political as ours, political influences would penetrate at every pore of the organization. How is the I. W. W. to keep anti-alienism, free trade, tariff reform, single tax in national politics, and rate-saving, etc., in municipal politics from affecting their members as individuals, and consequently debauching the organization, unless they enter the political field?

It is impossible to combat the capitalist influences, the floods of political error, the numberless snares and lures that are put into operation by capitalist political agencies, particularly at election times, unless by means of a political party mechanism. The industrialists must keep in mind the fact that while they are bound to insist upon a general basic knowledge, on the part of individual members, of the principles of revolutionary industrialism, they will inevitably have to deal with a considerable body of crude thought. They cannot subject their members to the stringent discipline on matters of detail which operates in a Socialist party. That being so, a revolutionary political party is necessary (1) to save the Industrial Union from corruption and decadence, and (2) to give definite expression on the political field, not to the fads of this man or that, but to the revolutionary sentiments of the rank and file which will grow gradually in clearness and definiteness through the stimulus of the party. The anti-political controversialists are fond of analogies. I shall give them a new one to think over. I say the party will be the burning glass which will focus on the political field the rays of revolutionary thought of the rank and file of the Industrial Union, which rays would otherwise, be dissipated and lost.

But what about the position of the S. L. P., pending the time when the Industrial Union will put it out of business (to our entire satisfaction) by projecting its own political party? Some of our friends are kind enough to suggest that we should liquidate and put up shutters. I think not. The alleged contradiction involved in the priority in point of time of Socialist Labor Party electoral activity to Industrial Union organization, based upon the correct statement that a political victory is worthless if unsupported by economic might,—is a quite irrelevant objection inasmuch as our political action, in the meantime, is not based upon any assumption that we are going to gain an immediate victory. We enter politics for propaganda—a propaganda in which Industrial Unionism takes a leading part. We enter politics to combat capitalist political snares, to give the large body of workers who are not anti-politicals, a clean cause to vote for, and above all, to gain political experience — experience which we are conceited enough to think will be of some use to the Industrial Union when it sets itself to form its own party. It would be an easy policy, but at the same time the sheerest cowardice and treachery to the working class to retire and leave the capitalist a clear field. The man who shirks the hard and disagreeable work of electioneering, is the sort of person who will be found hiding in an empty rainwater barrel if "it comes to the barricade."

NATURE AND GROWTH OF CAPITAL

WHEN WEALTH IS "CAPITAL," AND WHEN IT ISN'T, CLEARLY LAID BARE.

Capital consists of raw materials, instruments of labor, and means of subsistence of all kinds, which are employed in producing new raw materials, new instruments, and new means of subsistence. All these components of capital are created by labor, products of labor, accumulated labor. Accumulated labor that serves as a means to new production is capital. So say the economists. What is a Negro slave? A man of the black race. The one explanation is worthy of the other.

A Negro is a Negro. Only under certain conditions does he become a slave. A cotton-spinning machine is a machine for spinning cotton. Only under certain conditions does it become capital. Torn away from these conditions, it is as little capital as gold by itself is money, or as sugar is the price of sugar.

In the process of production, human beings work not only upon nature, but also upon one another. They produce only by working together in a specified manner and reciprocally exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations to one another, and only within these social connections and relations does their influence upon nature operate, i. e., does production take place.

These social relations between the producers, and the conditions under which they exchange their activities and share in the total act of production, will naturally vary according to the character of the means of production. With the discovery of a new instrument of warfare, the firearm, the whole internal organization of the army was necessarily altered, the relations within which individuals compose an army and can work as an army were transformed, and the relation of different armies to one another was likewise changed.

We thus see that the **social relations which individuals produce, the social relations of production, are altered, transformed, with the change and development of the material means of production, of the forces of production. The relations of production in their totality constitute what is called the social relations, society, and, moreover, a society at a definite stage of historic development,** a society with peculiar, distinctive character. **Ancient society, feudal society, bourgeois** (or capitalist) society, are such totalities of relations of production, each of which denotes a particular stage of development in the history of mankind.

Capital also is a social relation of production. It is a **bourgeois relation of production,** a relation of production of bourgeois society. The means of subsistence, the instruments of labor, the raw materials, of which capital consists — have they not been produced and accumulated under given social conditions, within definite social relations? Are they not employed for new production, under given social conditions, within definite social relations? And does not just this definite social character stamp the products which serve for new production as **capital?**

Capital consists not only of means of subsistence, instruments of labor, and raw materials, not only of material products: it consists just as much of exchange value. All products of which it consists are **commodities. Capital, consequently, is not only a sum of material products, it is a sum of commodities, of exchange value, of social magnitudes.** Capital remains the same whether we put cotton in the place of wool, rice in the place of wheat, steamships in the place of railorads, provided only that the cotton, the rice, the steamships — the body of the capital—have the same exchange value, the same price, as the wool, the wheat, the railroads, in which it was previously embodied. The bodily form of capital may transform itself continually, while capital does not suffer the least alteration.

But though every capital is a sum of commodities, i. e., of exchange values, it does not follow that every sum of commodities, of exchange values, is capital.

Every sum of exchange values is an exchange value. Each particular exchange value is a sum of exchange values. For example—a house worth £1,000 is an exchange value of £1,000; a piece of paper worth one penny is a sum of exchange value of one hundred one-hundreths of a penny. Products which are exchangeable for others are **commodities.** The definite proportion in which they are exchangeable forms their **exchange value,** or, expressed in money, their price. The quantity of these products can have no effect on their character as **commodities,** as representing an **exchange value,** as having a **certain price.** Whether a tree be large or small, it remains a tree. Whether we exchange iron in penny-weights or in hundred-weights, for other products, does this alter its character—its being a commodity, an exchange value? According to the quantity, it is a commodity of greater or of lesser value, of higher or of lower price.

How then does a sum of commodities, of exchange values, become capital?....

Thereby, that as an independent social power, i. e., **as the power of a part of society, it preserves itself and multiplies by exchange with direct, living labor-power.**

The existence of a class which possesses nothing but the ability to work is a necessary presupposition of capital.

It is only the dominion of past, accumulated, materialized labor over immediate living labor that stamps the accumulated labor with the character of capital.

Capital does not consist in the fact that accumulated labor serves living labor as a means for new production. It consists in the fact that living labor serves accumulated labor as the means of preserving and multiplying its exchange value.—Chapter V. of "Wage Labor and Capital," by Karl Marx.

SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements. The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.

Section San Francisco, Cal., S. L. P. Headquarters, Hungarian Socialist Federation, Lettonian Socialist Labor Federation, 883 McAllister street.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading rooms at 409 East Seventh street. Public educational meetings Wednesday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

Section Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P., meets every alternate Sunday at 356 Ontario street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 3 P. M.

Headquarters Section Cincinnati, O., S. L. P., at 1414 Race street. General Committee meets every second and fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Hungarian educational meetings every Wednesday and Sunday. Open every night.

Section Allentown, Pa., S. L. P., meets every first Saturday in the month at 8 p. m. Headquarters 815 Hamilton street.

Section Providence, R. I., 81 Dyer st., room 8. Regular meetings second and fourth Tuesdays of each month.

New Jersey State Executive Committee, S. L. P.—John Hossack, Secretary, 22 Fulton Ave., Jersey City; Fred. Gerold, Financial Secretary, 102 Waverly St., Jersey City, N. J.

Chicago, Illinois.—The 14th Ward Branch, Socialist Labor Party, meets every 1st and 3rd Sunday, 2 p. m. sharp, at Friedmann's Hall, S. E. corner Grand and Western avenues. Workingmen and women are cordially invited.

Section Seattle, S. L. P., headquarters, free reading room and lecture hall, No. 2000 Second avenue. P. O. address, Box 1040.

Section Salt Lake, Utah, meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m., Rooms 4 and 5, Galena Block, 69 East 2nd So st. Free Reading Room. Weekly People readers invited.

All communications intended for the Minnesota S. E. C. should be addressed to Otto Olson, 310 7th ave., So. Minneapolis, Minn.

Section St. Paul, Minn., S. L. P., holds a business meeting every second and fourth Sunday in the month at 10 a. m. at Federation Hall, cor. 3rd and Wabash streets.

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VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS

[Resolutions Adopted by 12th Indiana Congress District of the Socialist Party.]

Whereas, There are at present two political parties advocating the principles of Socialism; and

Whereas, The necessity for a united Socialist movement is ever more keenly felt, and the demands for it are ever more persistently and insistently voiced by the most active workers—the rank and file of both parties; and

Whereas, It becomes the imperative duty of all Socialists and Socialist organizations to use every means within their power to bring about a united Socialist-political and Socialist-economic movement, on the basis of the principles promulgated by the International Socialist Congress; and

Whereas, The decisions of the recent International Socialist Congress, held at Stuttgart, both upon the matter of immigration (which recognizes the soundness of the Marxian motto, "Proletarians of *All Countries*, unite!") and even upon the vital question of unionism, which, while the congress has not yet taken the advanced industrialist position that clearly rejects the principle that economic organization is a transitory affair, accordingly, a position that holds that economic organization is something more than simply a recruiting ground for votes and funds, but is essential to the revolutionary act of the proletariat are, in-so-far as they affect the issues of the American movement, of a character to present a more acceptable common working basis for the two parties, and in view also of a greater necessity for unhindered Socialist work and the greater opportunity for it furnished by the spreading of the present industrial crisis in America; therefore be it

Resolved, That to the end that the organized proletariat in the Socialist movement in America may be constituted the American Section of the World's International, we, the Socialists of the Twelfth Congressional District of the State of Indiana in convention assembled, do hereby commend the action of the Socialist Labor Party in making overtures to the Socialist Party, looking to unity, and we DEMAND our National Executive Committee to meet a committee of the Socialist Labor Party to find a common basis for uniting the two parties,—the terms agreed upon to be submitted for referendum to the respective party memberships; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of the above resolutions be sent to our National Executive Committee, the Indiana members of the National Committee, and to the Socialist press for publication.

Respectfully,
L. H. De Witt.
C. E. Haenes.
Clayton H. Johnson.
H. Willard Smith.

Fort Wayne, Ind., May 1, 1908.

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DEFEATS AND VICTORIES

By Olive M. Johnson, Fruitvale, Cal.

When in a recent discussion I made the statement that "the Labor Movement does not march from victory to victory but, on the contrary, from defeat to defeat, until its energy and experience gather in the final great victory—the Social Revolution," I said so without qualification or explanation, because what is implied in that statement has, to me, become a maxim, that in my opinion should require no more demonstration than in mathematics does the statement that two times two make four. But that it is not so with many Socialists I find to my surprise.

Broadly speaking, what do we mean by the labor movement? Small, narrow, conceited people have a horizon no wider than their immediate surroundings, and such crouched under the magnificent canopy of Industrial Unionism stupidly apprehend in the I. W. W. the Alpha and Omega of the labor movement.

The Labor Movement, on the con-ary, embraces all that great and gal- nt work of the oppressed class that as been pointing towards the emancipation of the working class from the time it first asserted class life in the earliest days of capitalist society.

First we find the purely utopian movements, magnificent in criticism and unmatched in satire of all capitalist arrogance and fraud; but doomed to failure for all practical purposes because it was a purely intellectual movement of brilliant middle class and literary men without a practical foundation in the class struggle.

Then we have the Communist League, that in reality was an amalgamation of any and all kinds of people who had a grievance against capitalist society. It played its part in those days, when grievances, the more the merrier and by no matter whom and how, had to be ounded in order to awaken the slumbering senses of a proletariat, recently developed from a slavish and submissive serf class.

But as soon as the working class had developed sufficient class consciousness to manifest itself, a differentiation took place between the middle class individual kicker and the proletariat with its historic mission in society. The Communist League went to pieces and it of its splinters came that magni- ent historic structure, the Interna- nal Workingmen's Association, which years held Europe in awe, and made wned heads and diplomats tremble. gnificent, indeed, was the work it formed in arousing the consciousness the working class and in organizing economic unions and political branches. But its death knell was rung and its defeat was sounded in the great revolutionary year of 1848 when its press was seized, its branches broken up, and the majority of its members forced into exile. But the "energy and experience" of the International — was that lost? Did that die with the International? Or was the result of its defeat to "thoroughly demoralize, dishearten and subjugate" the working class? Or had it not rather the uplifting tendency to broaden their views, to widen their experience, to increase their enthusiasm, and to multiply their defiance?! May we not with justice say that that defeat was to a certain, perhaps, to a great extent, responsible for the magnificent scientific literature that those exiles gave to the labor movement? Is there not a world-wide working class movement to-day to bear witness to the fact that the International Workingmen's Association did not live, fight, and fall in vain?!

After it had been broken up in Europe the headquarters of the International was transferred to the United States of America. It never again played any historic part. But directly from its loins sprang the K. of L. The work of the K. of L. was gigantic. The American working class was just commencing to feel proletarian in this land of unlimited resources and, up to that time at least, of somewhat equalized opportunities. The class division was becoming felt, but mentally the workers were in the foggy stages of sham patriotism with most cloudy ideas of American freedom, independence and equality. The K. of L. by its tremendous agitation did much to awaken the slumbering masses. But from the as yet undeveloped status of the labor movement, the K. of L. had many fatal weaknesses in its structure of organization. It was therefore bound not on the road to the final great victory, but to sure and certain defeat. Some of its members and branches also fell to more or less covertly advocating physical force. That was the fatal stroke. Its downfall and defeat came with the Anarchist police outrage in Chicago in 1886. Dull are we, indeed, and five men have died and three have spent long years in the penitentiary in vain, if we cannot gather from that defeat the most valuable experience that advocacy of physical force leads to disaster.

After that time there are years of hard struggle and constant groping for the path of the genuine labor movement. The S. T. & L. A. grasped it in theory, but we may say it had the mind only and lacked the physique of industrial unionism. The structure was lacking. It went down and out, but its energy and experience went into the I. W. W. with rousing enthusiasm.

The A. R. U. had some of the spirit and a dash of the structure, but it was doomed to defeat and failure from its essential craft character. The I. W. W. got what was left of it and certainly has the benefit of its experience.

The W. F. of M. has the essential structure within the particular industry, but is possessed by such craft arrogance as to declare the mining industry "the stepping stone of civilization." It is doomed to defeat. The disintegration has already set in. There are signs of it on every hand. Its officers are making noticeable overtures to the positively reactionary U. M. W. But, at the same time, does not the W. F. of M. leave an heirloom of gathered energy and experience for the genuine labor movement? To be sure, it does. We hail with joy such manifestations thereof as echoed from Denver when the revolutionary faction fought a battle royal against all odds in the last convention.

Again, down in far away Tampa, Florida, the La Resistencia was working out most admirably the form of industrial unionism. But it was bound to defeat because it was localized. It existed in Tampa only and was composed of Spaniards. They were shanghaied and shattered. In a word, they were routed. But the very brutality manifested by their opponents, and the completeness of the rout served to draw the eyes of the American labor movement upon the unknown and unheard of La Resistencia. There we saw the magnificent industrial structure in embryo, but we also learned from the defeat the valuable experience that a localized movement cannot hope to succeed, a fact later emphasized also at Goldfield, Nev. The industrial movement must be of the world, and its organization must be as broad as the land at least.

In the face of this inspiring history of the labor movement it is obvious that the quarry from which we gather energy and experience in the Labor Movement is the defeats that it suffers, each defeat being fruitful in lessons that are learned. On the other hand, to declare without modification that defeats must leave us "thoroughly demoralized, dispersed, disheartened and subjugated," and that it is to "wallow in depths of stupidity and blind prejudices" to dare to declare otherwise, is an exhibition of crass ignorance of history.

But let me gather a few more concrete examples. During the last 25 years the A. F. of L. has held practical sway in the labor field in this country. By its craft monopoly it has certainly been able to uplift to a certain extent a limited number of the working class. Any possible good and all the bad effects of the A. F. of L. do not belong in this discussion, only as they relate to the effects of victory and defeat. Now, if the A. F. of L. had been able to lead its membership from victory to victory, it would have been able to so tickle it into contentment that the mutual interest of Capital and Labor would have been its very highest moral guiding star. They would have been thoroughly contented and satisfied with capitalism. They would have been the bitterest enemies of revolutionary unionism, and are so today where they have had even a limited amount of success. But, as a whole, and during the last ten years at least, they have marched pretty well from defeat to defeat. Those members who have looked upon the A. F. of L. as the very essence of the labor movement have indeed shown a tendency to become disheartened and demoralized by these defeats, but the defeats have a far different effect on those that can see above and beyond the barrier walls of the A. F. of L. Why is it that the agitators and organizers of the I. W. W. give so much time to criticizing the A. F. of L. leaders, and to the showing up of the failures and fallacies of the A. F. of L.? Do they wish to entirely "dishearten, discourage and demoralize" this set of men? Or do they not rather recognize that the unionists have gathered, through these battles and defeats, such energy and experience as would be a most valuable asset to the industrial movement? Most assuredly it is so. This fine army of industrial proletarians, trained in organization, tutored in the struggle, willing and ready for fray and with the valuable experience of the futility of craft arrogance and local independence, they would, if once gathered into the folds of a sound organization, form one valuable missing link in the chain pieced together by the American labor movement through the untold defeats it has suffered en route to its final victory—the Social Revolution.

Let us look yet from another point of view. This statement of mine that "the labor movement marches not from victory to victory, but from defeat to defeat," was caused by the implication that the I. W. W. will march from victory to victory until it wins its final great victory, and that "in proportion as the political and economic power of the working class increase through the I. W. W., the political as well as the economic power of the capitalist class wanes." Now, let us look at this question with this statement in mind. Because I said that the labor movement does not march from victory to victory, and that the power of the capitalists never can or will wane in the least as long as they hold the economic and political power of the nation, did I therefore say that there could be no improvements, in a general sense, of the conditions of the working class? And that it would be worse than folly to struggle for such improvements? Do not the organizers of the I. W. W. point out truly the continual defeats of the A. F. of L., and yet, can it be denied that the members even of these corrupt unions are manifestly better off than the unorganized? Again, since the beginning of capitalism the hours of labor have certainly been decreased. In many industries the 8-hour day is now general where a 12-hour day was once common enough. No one need even demonstrate that that is to labor's benefit. It is part of the workers' evolution to a higher stage. But has therefore the power of the capitalist class waned? Answer that, ye who declare that for every advancement of labor the power of capitalists must wane! Have they not, on the contrary, greater power to exploit labor to-day than formerly? Is not the toil intensified? Are not the dangers of accidents greater? Are not the workshops veritable disease mills? Is not woman and child labor on the increase? And, moreover, is it not a fact that—

"To-day we have judges' injunctions against workingmen on strike. To-day we have judges' decisions against so-called labor laws, as, for instance, the recent U. S. Supreme Court decision declaring an Employers' Liability Law unconstitutional. To-day we have court decisions legalizing the kidnapping of labor leaders, as in the celebrated case of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, the kidnapped officials of the Western Federations of Miners. To-day we see workingmen railroaded to prison after farcical trials, as were Preston and Smith at Goldfield, Nev. To-day we see the militia and the Federal troops called out with increasing frequency to break strikes."?

Now, let us say that the I. W. W., through its organization can succeed in still decreasing the hours, say, even to six hours and to be fairly successful in raising the money denomination of wages. By the fact that the I. W. W. is a revolutionary organization which always keeps the eyes of the workers on the final goal—the Industrial Republic—these gains could not have the effect to lull the workers to sleep to dream of the goodness of Brother Capital. It would give us more leisure and added benefits of civilization. For these it is always worth while to strive. But for all such gains would therefore of necessity and as a matter of fact the power of the capitalist class wane? Not, indeed, if there be any lesson in the past! It might even increase. Do we not have to purchase our necessities of life from the capitalist class? Are not the machines improved year by year, and has not every encroachment of labor the result of hastening this improvement? Does not the continual concentration of wealth give added power to the powerful few? Does not the ever perfected governmental machine give ever greater power to these few? How can we be foolish enough to doubt it? The capitalists themselves, who fear the few, are getting to recognize it. So it will continue to the day of the end of capitalism. The best the workers can hope is to evolve with capitalism, and the immediate mission of the labor movement is to spur on that evolution. But as to our relation to capitalism, it is certainly for increased power, not weakness that we must steel ourselves in the final battle. Degeneracy and faintheartedness have no room in the ranks, for the struggle will be intense. It is the duty of the labor movement to instil the greatest determination and an unconquerable spirit into the workers from the first to the last.

Let us take another example fresh in the mind. In 1886 the capitalist class could hang labor's advocates. That was labor's defeat. The capitalists tried that game again in 1907. Did they do it then? No! And why? Because the labor movement had gathered energy and experience from its 1886 defeat. Did it show for a minute that it had become disheartened and demoralized by the event of 1886? No, indeed! Was it not energy to work night and day to arrange meetings, demonstrations, parades, etc.? Was it not knowledge and experience that rang forth in the masterful speeches, articles, letters and resolutions that resounded through the length and breadth of the land, clear to the Supreme Bench and the White House? To what extent the power of the working class had increased and culminated! But has, therefore, the power of the capitalist class waned? Could they not kidnap the men? Did they not carry their "prisoners" off in a special train with U. S. troops to guard it? Did they not set aside constitutional rights and all legal forms? Did not all the capitalist acts in that connection show the very essence of power, such as was never exhibited before? Could they not as easily have hung these men? To be sure, and they would have done it, too, if it had not become evident that the working class was making experience faster than tended to the good of capitalism.

Now, as to the point whether the I. W. W. is worth while at all, if it cannot march from victory to victory, and increase the power of the working class step by step and proportionally make the power of the capitalists wane. Or, if it must suffer defeats, if they are not more disheartening and demoralizing than even inactivity? That all depends upon the I. W. W. agitation. If the I. W. W. degenerates into a mere agency to raise wages, which, to be sure, a great number of its agitators have a tendency to make it do, then the defeats it will and must and already has suffered from this cause, will and must lead to discouragement and demoralization even as the defeats of the A. F. of L. have done where the light of the I. W. W. has not commenced to penetrate. And as the I. W. W. stands forth with far greater possibilties, in fact, the last and only possibilities on the economic field, therefore also the discouragement from such defeats will be great and lasting, will, in fact, be "thoroughly disheartening and demoralizing." But if the I. W. W. in its agitation never loses sight of the final aim, never sets the "pitfalls" and kindles the "illusions" that the I. W. W. will march from victory to victory, and that the "power of the capitalists will correspondingly wane," then every defeat will in itself be a victory by gathered energy and experience.

If it be wise at all to take our cue from the praises that "fall from the mouth" of a "capitalist reporter" then the words of that reporter of the Portland "Oregon Journal" that "a single strike of the I. W. W. with its glowing enthusiasm, its drills in working class tactics, and its hundreds of speeches, makes more revolutionists that a whole season of agitation by a Socialist party," then these words must indeed mean that glowing enthusiasm and magnificent agitation gather for the workers "energy and experience" no matter what the immediate outcome of such a strike may be. Some one has tripped himself up pretty badly by the use of that quotation. There is no alternative to the two horns of this dilemma. Either that Portland strike was a PITFALL that led the workers to a most discouraging defeat, or else it was a defeat from which the workers gathered valuable experience by reason of the glowing enthusiasm, etc. Take your choice as to which vital point it is to illustrate, it is all the same to me.

Bear with a few words more. This sketch of the magnificent battle of the working class to awaken its energy and gather its experience for the final great victory is not complete without a reference to that wing of the labor movement distinctly called at this time the Socialist movement, i. e., the political movement. The present distinction between the "Industrial" and the "Socialist" movement is a misnomer fostered by "ignorances and prejudices." "The labor movement is the Socialist movement and the I. W. W. is nothing if not Socialism organized.

After the downfall of the K. of L., the revolutionary agitation in this country passed to the Socialist political party, then the S. L. P. Later came "the split," and we had the S. L. P. and the S. P. The S. L. P. was bound for political failure because it recognized "that only the economic union could set afoot the true party of labor." Its agitation therefore consisted mainly in exposing the reactionary, unsound and corrupt A. F. of L. and, moreover, in aiding to build up a revolutionary union that should be able to set afoot its ideal political party. The S. L. P. sacrificed itself to its ideal. The S. P., on the other hand, flew off at a tangent and became ultra-political. It ignored the economic movement and proceeded, without an economic union for its basis, to attempt to vote in the Socialist Republic. Its vote flew into the air but could not rise beyond a certain point without bursting. It has burst and its vote-balloon is now fast collapsing. Its experience is a most valuable asset to the labor movement. We are greeting the membership that has been able to profit thereby and are asking for unity with them. Beyond a few exceptions we do not find them discouraged and demoralized. "Experience is the best teacher."

Now, in conclusion I am going to say a word as to my own individual opinion, gathered from the experience of the last two years. The present conduct of the I. W. W., "unofficial and individual" though it may be, for all it seems to proceed from highest sources, is carrying it on the high road to failure and defeat. But it is gathering one experience that is necessary to complete the calender. It came out full and fair, theoretically, and declared for the political as well as the economic unity of the working class, and then it dodged the issue by declaring non-affiliation with either of the present Socialist parties and without launching its own ideal, if neither served therefor. Perhaps it could not be otherwise with two Socialist parties already in the field. But the result of that dodge was fatal. Where are the elements to be found with which to start the revolutionary nucleus in a revolutionary union if not among the Socialists? But the S. P. men are to the greatest extent holding themselves aloof from the I. W. W. out of loyalty to their party which the I. W. W. has been forced to show up as impotent to establish the Socialist Republic. The S. L. P. men are to-day "unofficially and individually," it is true, yet by men in official position in the I. W. W. told to keep "hands off," which plainly means "keep out," if they are not ready to abandon their political party. The result is that the "direct actionists" and "pure and simple economics" people hold sway—for the moment, at least. But does even that sway settle the "political issue"? Read the last few issues of The Bulletin, and you will find that "politics" is the paramount issue. In fact, The Bulletin threatens to become a pure and simple political sheet, in marked difference to The People, that goes calmly on its way, advocating the economic unity of the working class in the I. W. W., and its political unity in the Socialist Labor Party. We hope The People may be excused for mentioning the name of its own party!! The I. W. W. has not been able to avoid the issue by dodging it. It must be faced. Perhaps this very enforced facing of the issue, enforced as it is by the very ones that oppose politics, will save the day for the I. W. W. Let us hope that "the present work of the I. W. W. is, by means of sound economic and sociologic education, to render its membership and new raw recruits homogeneous," and that it will prove capable indeed to carry out this gigantic task.

At the present time, however, those members who are airing their own "individual opinions" are doing worse than raising a dust in the I. W. W. only. By the high positions some of them wriggled into, their acts, if not officially censured, will easily be interpreted as "official" acts. The rank and file of the two Socialist parties have been working out a basis for unity on the groundwork of Industrial Unionism. The political animosity manifested by some loud shouters for the I. W. W. is threatening to shatter that groundwork and is undermining at this time the formation of a strong Socialist political party, in which the I. W. W. could and should easily be able to find its political reflex. How can a political party find a basis of unity in an economic organization whose press and some of whose official organizers are allowed to declare as openly as they dare against "politics in the ordinary sense," and political parties in general?

It appears ever stronger to me in "my own personal opinion" that economic and political unity must be built up hand in hand. If you divide the workers on either one of these subjects they will split into a thousand fragments on both. The "pure and simple unions" should have taught the one, the "pure and simple" Socialists the other. The I. W. W. should have come into the world equipped with that experience.

The workers are ready for "unity on both the economic and political field." They demand it, they are becoming disgusted at the wrangling about the relative importance of the two; they desire unity, they desire it with a passion and woe to the individuals or organizations that stand in its way!

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SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1908.

It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinions; it is easy in solitude to live after our own; but the Great Man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude.

—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

THEIR ONE PRACTICAL ACT.

Whoever lets one eye roam over the Unionism, that not a voice rose from that camp in denunciation of Industrial-critical political and economic situation of the land, together with all the dangers it threatens and opportunities it offers, and focuses the other eye upon the late national convention of the Socialist party, held in Chicago, must come to the conclusion that the dominant element at the convention acted like a lot of Indians who had found a watch—except in one respect where they acted with a practical sense of THEIR OWN particular needs.

What was the exception? The attitude of the convention on Industrialism.

The light, flashed upon the field of economic organization by the launching of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905, was so strong that it dazed the spokesmen and beneficiaries of Craft Unionism; it made them stagger. So strong and clinching was the indictment of the Labor-dislocating system of Craftism. The nearest they came to an attack was the sneer of the Mitchells that "Industrialism meant the millenium"—a plea of confession and avoidance, of the nature of the capitalist objection to Socialism as "too good." As to the direct and indirect beneficiaries of Craft Unionism in the high and understrapping places of the S. P., they fell over one another in protestations of love, affection and esteem for Industrialism—"but," so ran the slogan at the time, and continued down to this Chicago convention, "why start a new and rival organization to the A. F. of L.? The A. F. of L. is itself slowly, but steadily re-organizing industrially!" The allegation of A. F. of L. drift towards Industrialism was false, and the proofs, here and there adduced in substantiation of the falsity, only accentuated the falseness. Nevertheless, the allegations were advanced and accompanied with plaudits for the alleged Industrialist trend in the A. F. of L. Such was the state of affairs until recently. At the convention a Black Crook stagic transformation took place. Even a meek and mild declaration gently suggesting to the workers that "the industrial form of organization had been found more effective in increasing working class solidarity," was, to use the emphatic language of the Chicago "Socialist" itself, "killed." The vote against it was 138 to 45.

This was "practical" work. All the previous declarations of love and affection for Industrialism were "unofficial"; they served well enough the temporary purpose of deceiving the unwary. Then, also, they had been uttered in fear. Since then the S. P. Craft Unionists had been at work. Their clumsy hand was seen at the Sherman episode; their clumsy hand can be seen at work to-day. The danger is over, they imagine. Now they could come out in their true colors—and they did. The convention being a place, not for "unofficial," but for "official" action, the crack of the A. F. of L. whip was heard, and Industrialism, even a remote suggestion thereof, was trampled under foot.

Indians may be tickled at the mechanism of a watch, and cut crazy pranks of delight thereat. The veriest Indian will instantly sober down and be intensely practical at the sight of the trail of a foe. The "self-hypnotized visionaries," as the Daily People reporter of the convention well characterized the bulk of the convention delegates, sobered down instantly at the mere suggestion of "Industrialism." The business interests of the privately owned papers, that would forfeit the support of the Labor-dislocating Craft Unions, and thereby lose the cash brought in by their capitalist advertisements, justly feared for their lives; the other and more direct (even through death benefits) beneficiaries of a Civic Federationized Union system that breeds and compels scabbery, and thus ruptures the Working Class, even among the ranks of the organized, justly felt an instinctive shiver run down their spines; the stage-strutters, to whom the Socialist Movement furnishes cheap notoriety—and incidental lecture tour engagements—and who want nothing less than to handle any thorny question, they rightly underwent a sensation of stomachic disgust at the mention of the word "Industrialism";—all bristled up, instantly dropped the ticking watch of Socialism, and became "practical."

In the interest—of?

A CHEERING SIGN.

The newly formed League for the Civic Education of Women announces that "members of the President's Cabinet, United State Senators, members of the Federal and State Judiciary, and professors of the leading Universities will speak and teach against the suffrage movement from its platform." No fact could well be imagined more clearly indicative of that other fact, to wit, that the Woman Suffrage Movement is about to drop its slough of freakishness and enter a period that "means business."

Even inventions of great pith and moment cast their early shadows before them in the shape of toys and trifles. The same happens with all lofty aspirations. They first manifest themselves in garb more or less ridiculous. The lofty aspiration of Woman Suffrage was no exception. Artemus Ward justly ridiculed the "he-females," the "ferocious creaters," armed with "blue cotton umbrellers," and wearing "scanderlously short gowns," who first took up the cause of woman, "the serlave of proud and domineerin' man." That uncouth era was eventually left behind it by the Movement, and women of a different type stepped upon the arena—women of culture, of learning and of character. Despite all the virtues possessed by the galaxy of these women, they lacked one quality — practical foundation. With them Woman Suffrage was essentially a sentiment. This defect attracted to it a large element, both male and female, that lacked the talent, the character and the earnestness which fired the distinguished women who took the lead in the Movement for woman's emancipation. These latter acquisitions were to a very considerable extent formed of the intellectually idle, who delight in things new for the sake of the newness, and, not infrequently, for the sake of enjoying the notoriety of cheap revolutionary mouthings. Although many seriously practical forces joined the Movement, they were not dominant. For one thing the highly cultured woman element dominated; for another thing, and as a consequence of the first, the notoriety seeking element, an element that ever frowns upon the seriously practical as "fanatics," insisted upon a "broad Movement"; for a third reason, the ripening times which pushed woman into the economic arena as a wage slave, afforded the seriously practical element better opportunities elsewhere for practical work than could be found in an organization that inevitably degenerated ever more and more into a camp for idle, however witty and pungent satire, and for still idler lamentations. Social conditions were slowly but steadily rescuing the Cause of Woman from its freak stage. In only two occupations in the land—"sailors and soldiers," and "telegraph linemen" (pole climbers) — are women not represented to-day. This development tended to dignify the Cause of Woman by placing it where it belongs—under the category of the Cause of Labor. That the development has finally raised the alleged Woman Question to the dignity of a thing to be reckoned with is proved by the organization of the League for the alleged Civic Education of Women, and the necessity the said League finds itself in of enlisting the help of the most conspicuous personages of the capitalist world in the land to oppose the Movement. From now on the Movement of Woman will move, indeed.

The first consequence will be the dropping out of most of the freaks. None will be left even of the distinguished women but those with whom high aims can not be dampened by material interests. All others will, under one pretext or another, lie low. The "Cause of Woman," as they called it, will have been proved to them to be the Cause of Labor, and that, they need not be told, means the peril of the stocks and other things from which they sponge an idle existence. They will then realize the folly (on their part) to throw into the hustings large fresh battalions of voters, and that at a time when they and their husbands are intent upon wrenching the ballot from the male workers who hold it.

The second consequence will be greatly aided by the first. Freed from the navel string of its ridiculous origin, the Woman Movement, so called, will merge with the Labor Movement. The common quality of wage slave will cast off the hitherto deceptive sex nature of the Movement. And all the Presidents' members of Cabinet, professors, Senators and other High Priests of the heathen God Capital will not be a dike high or strong enough to resist the flood of Socialism.

Among the many cheering signs of the times none is more so than the organization of the League, and the list of speakers it announces to save its doomed programme.

BULLETIN No. 2.

The Agricultural Department of the State of New York has just issued its Bulletin No. 2—a 239-page book containing a "List of farms, occupied and unoccupied," but all for sale. There are 2,372 farms, country and village property, listed. No doubt, a number of these are listed on the same principle that their owners would advertise them in some paper with flaming praises of "unrivaled locality," etc. In most instances the notices bear evidence of truthfulness. In sight of 2,372 farms and country property, most of which are unoccupied, and all of which their owners "for various reasons are desirous of selling," as the Bulletin announces, the question comes, How's that?

The first answer points to the general overthrow of the Single Tax theory by that social evolution, all the separate sections of which converge towards Socialism. If the ownership of land is the thing that it is cracked up to be by the Single Tax, none but lunatics would let go. Every sane man would cling to it like grim death. It goes without saying that the 2,372 owners of farm land anxious to sell are no lunatics. They are driven thereto as by a prairie fire. What is that prairie fire?—Capitalism.

The fate of the land-holding class, as a class, is full of instruction.

A time there was when he who held land was safe—as safe as the times allowed. Language ever is a barometer of the stage of development at a given time. The term "land poor" did not exist of old. A hundred years ago it was not thought of, could not be thought of. He who held land was not poor, could not be poor. The rise of the term "land poor," a well known term to-day, indicates a deep-going economic change between now and then. Something gradually rose between man and land, or Man and Nature. That thing was the tool, or machinery of production, which, owned privately, assumes the name and the tyrant-power of CAPITAL. In the measure that capital grew, Nature became less and less accessible to Man without the aid of capital. Capital, being the privately owned necessary with which to carve wealth out of Nature, the capital-holder holds the key to Nature and to her bounties. At first, the tool for dispossessment from Nature was the sword, which drove the peasants off the soil, now the weapon is more subtile. It is so subtile that the peasant rushes himself forward, anxious to rid himself of his hold on Nature, a hold that, without capital, acts like a millstone around his neck. In the State of New York, according to Bulletin No. 2, no less than 2,000 of these men are listed in the Agricultural Department only.

Capital is a wily tyrant. The Negro slave never was so happy as when he managed to run away from his feudal master; that same being, today, a "free man," but capitalless, is, the same as his fellow white wage earners, never happy unless he has a master, and will walk off his legs in search of one. In the same way with the capitalless landholder. Once so tenacious of his holding that it required a sharp sword to tear him loose, to-day he will spend money to announce his readiness to let go.

Bulletin No. 2 is a Socialist propaganda and campaign document.

SOCIALISM IN JAPAN.

Army Officers Begin Campaign Against Its Mighty Spread.

Tokio, Japan, May 19.—The alarm of the Japanese government at the spread of Socialism is increased by the desertion of the soldiers. In the meeting of the commanders of Army Divisions which is now being held, one of the chief subjects is how to prevent revolutionary thought from reaching the soldiers. The Home Minister, it is said, has decided on a vigorous campaign against Socialist and anti-militarist thought.

Two students of the Maoki Middle School, in Tochigi Prefecture, have been sunspended for four months for contributing Socialist essays to "The Alumni Review."

RAILROADS CUT LABORERS' WAGES

Chicago, May 22.—A general cut in wages of all section men and laborers has been ordered by the railroads extending west from Chicago. Several thousand men are affected.

THE MEANS TO TRIUMPH

The part of wisdom is to pluck the flower Safety from the nettle Danger. The ill-advised conduct of the I. W. W. officials in charge, at the Chicago headquarters, of the organ of the I. W. W., to allow and encourage individuals, who, finding themselves incompetent to organize, sought to cover their shortcomings by bustling about political theories and kindred subjects, has had the effect of creating considerable turmoil and, consequently, to raise a deal of dust.

On the one hand, the mistaken theory, so easy to fall into, of imagining that the Socialist Revolution can be the product of a mere legislative enactment, has received fresh increment. On the other hand, the companion piece of the said mistaken theory, equally easy to fall into, of wholly rejecting political action, has re-raised its head and re-started to wag its noisy tongue. Nor is the evil limited to these two extremes. The overwhelming majority of the men and women in the land, destined to take a part in the coming events, and without whose co-operation the raising of the Socialist Republic will remain a work undone, who still are but "onlookers," and to enlist whose services is necessary—from that element more than one sign has gone up of discouragement, as a consequence of the controversial political aspect that the "Bulletin" assumed. This element was beginning to see the light. The beacon—first lighted in the land and kept lighted by the Socialist Labor Party—touching the necessity of the revolutionary economic organization of the Working Class, was beginning encouragingly to break through the thick clouds, that, partly ignorant, partly interested calunmy, rolled against it. Progress was being made in popular enlightenment. The progress is now threatened among that vast "onlooking" element. Pure and simple political Socialism they have grown wise enough to reject; the opposite extreme, which has given itself the name of "Anarchy" in this country, their common sense likewise rejects: in the last analysis, let the thing veil itself as it may—whether by using the term "political action" in a sense that nobody understands; or whether, preserving the established meaning of the term, by proposing its application in an inapplicable way, as, for instance, that the economic organization shall itself be at the same time an organization for political action; and whether those who indulge such schemes are aware of it or not—let the thing veil itself as it may, in the last analysis it spells "Dynamitism." Common sense and human conscience join to spurn the thing. Pure and simple "Ballotism" incites "Dynamitism"; pure and simple "Dynamitism" reacts back and promotes pure and simple "Ballotism." The two extremes, acting and reacting upon each other, confuse and dishearten the masses.

At such a season, a look at the chart traced by that genius whom no genius has yet risen fit to amend—be he Berger or Bakunin—would seem to be in season.

The Socialist Movement is a Working Class Movement. It is that for two reasons—

First, because the path it walks is and must be plowed exclusively by Working Class interests. No interest foreign, let alone hostile, to the class interests of the Working Class has any place in the Socialist program;

Secondly, because, unless the Working Class itself puts its hand to the plow, the path never will be open, and the Working Class will remain enthralled. One nation, one race, has brought emancipation to another nation, or another race; one class to another class—never. The supposition of such a thing is false in sociology, as would be the supposition of bramble bushes producing apples. Not only will no class emancipate another, but neither will nor can a class step into freedom without it is able to take care of itself. In sociology as in law—not to the supine, but to those who are up and doing does Providence bring help. The readiness of the Working Class to emancipate themselves is a condition precedent to Socialist victory.

These two reasons determine the character of the Socialist movement—they stamp it with the stamp of Proletarian. But all is not said when that is said—and to the glory of the Working Class, all is not said of their movement when that is said.

Hitherto all class movement has been the movement of a class below against the class above—and, simultaneously, to the oppression of the new class below that the successful movement was bound to generate. The bourgeois overthrew the feudal lord, not in order to establish freedom for man, but freedom for HIMSELF, upon the back of the proletariat. The seeming exception of the great American Revolution establishes no exception to the principle. The exceptional conditions of the country in which the American Revolution took place excuse the belief sincerely entertained by the Revolutionary Fathers that they founded Freedom. Soon as the American bourgeois developed, the law of his own existence compelled him to forget all his lofty aspirations. He strained every muscle to evolve the proletariat, and he promoted the process by inveigling European proletarians across the ocean into his clutches. No previous Class Movement was a Movement for the freedom of man. The Movement of the Working Class is the first exception. The exception is not due to any superior qualities in the proletariat, any more than the circumstance of its being otherwise with previous Class Movements, was due to any inferior qualities in them. It could not be otherwise with them. They were not the last, they were but intermediary links in the long evolutionary chain towards Freedom. The Movement of the Working Class is the culminating Movement in the long series of Class Movements. No more than previous Class Movements could prevent the CONTINUANCE, can the Movement of the Working Class prevent the END of Class Rule. Socialism is the turning of a long lane; it opens a New Era to mankind. No wonder the utterance is heard in some pulpits that Socialism is almost "a new religion." It, and it alone, can, because it, and it alone, must, establish Freedom. The Movement of the Working Class couldn't be otherwise, even if it would. Accordingly, Socialism means actual Human Redemption.

Important practical consequences flow from this fact. One of these is the necessity of a political organization of Socialism, separate and distinct from the necessary economic organization of the class-conscious proletariat. Apart from the consideration that political action alone affords the opportunity to preach a revolution in the open; apart from the consideration that a mass-movement, like that of the Working Class, cannot deploy by the methods of conspiracy, applicable only to movements that concern only the few; apart from the consideration that political action, by one set of men, must meet the political action of the opposite set upon the political battlefield, and that the political battlefield—being arranged in the geographic demarkations of Assembly, Senatorial, Congressional, Judicial, Aldermanic and many other districts—compels the organization of political army corps that square with the battlefield; apart from the consideration that such political army corps are compulsorily organized according to the residence of the individual members, whereas the economic organization compulsorily disregards residence and looks only to occupation;—apart from these and many other considerations, all combining to render indispensable a political organization of Socialism, and indispensable that the same be separate and distinct from the companion economic organization, there is another circumstance born of the above-mentioned broad human character of Socialism, that dictates the course.

Wisely does the I. W. W. provide that none but wage-earners are eligible to membership. Even this provision, strict enough though it seems, experience will certainly render still more strict by excluding many an applicant, now admitted, as not belonging to the category of a wage-earner, and, therefore, not belonging to its ranks. But the Socialist Movement is what it was described—proletarian in class interest, human in scope. Tersely and brilliantly did Lassalle say of it that it comes equipped with all the knowledge of its Age. Much of this knowledge is, by the very reason of the pursuits of the elements who possess it, excluded, and justly excluded, from the economic army corps of the Revolution. The Labor Movement is not simply entitled to, it needs the science, the art—in short, the intellectual acquirements of the Age, besides the vital ones of the wage slave's immediate class interests and experience. None but professional workingmen ever sneer at the intellectual elements of society, whose intellectuality does not consist in speaking and writing nonsense grammatically, but whose intellectuality enables them to realize that their place is flat-footed on the program of the class interests of the Working Class. These have a right to a place and a share in the Socialist Movement. Where shall these valuable forces find their place and the opportunity to exercise their useful share? The economic army corps of the Revolution may not admit them. Where else can they be organized and drilled so as to exercise their needed function, but in an allied political army corps?

Indeed, the political and the economic army corps of Socialism are necessary divisions of the large army of the Revolution. That fact, together with the relative position of the divisions, was expressed by Marx with his characteristic cogency—*Only the economic organization can put forth the political party of Labor.* It is there all in a nutshell:

The necessity of political action;

The necessity of a separate organization to conduct the same;

The primal necessity of the revolutionary organization to set forth the political expression of the Working Class, and to keep its course straight—away, on the one hand, from the pitfall of pure and simple "Ballotism," that would debauch, and, on the other, from the pitfall of the pure and simple "Dynamitism," that would assassinate the Labor Movement.

Wherever there is a man or woman in the land whose class interests, or intellect, or both combined, have truly cleared their vision to the light of the day that is dawning; wherever in the land there is a man or woman, with whom the Cause that they serve with singleness of purpose is the emancipation of the Working Class—wherever in the land these are found, there will be found a being striving with might and main to preserve, pure and unsophisticated, the Preamble and practice of the I. W. W.; striving, accordingly, for the robust development of the organization to the point that the Labor or Socialist Movement may enter upon its march to triumph.

VAN CLEAVE ON THE BROCKEN.

The labor unions of the country have been caught at their wickedness again. Listen: "Labor unions have virtually killed the apprenticeship system in many of our great industries, and entirely killed it in others"!

Did this statement proceed elsewhere than from the accurate and totally disinterested pen of Mr. James W. Van Cleave, President of the National Manufacturers' Association and officer of the Civic Federation, we might be inclined to doubt it. From these sources it is irreproachable. Let us see.

In the boot and shoe industry there occurred between 1890 and 1900 an increase of 18.3 per cent. in the value of products. This increase is shown by the census figures to be the result of a 22.2 per cent. increase in the value of machinery used. True, an increase of 6.9 per cent. in number of wage earners is also shown, but this is offset by a 2.5 per cent. decrease in wages—the increase in workers was made at the expense of skill and high pay, rendered unnecessary by the IMPROVED MACHINE.

In carriage and wagons a 23.9 per cent. increase in machinery made possible an increase of 6.1 per cent. in value of products; and allowed at the same time a decrease of 2.7 per cent. in the number of wage earners. Not only that, but along with the reduction of wage earners went a reduction the wages of those that were left, to the extent of 8.7 per cent.—High wages, and skill, and hence apprenticeship or training also, were here again knocked out by the IMPROVED MACHINE.

In this industry, to quote the U. S. Census Report of 1900, "very few skilled workmen are any longer needed; the machinery utilized in this industry has been developed to such an extent that wagons formerly manufactured by skilled workmen, who commanded high wages, were made in 1900 by comparatively unskilled men."—Thus in the very documents of the capitalists themselves, it is shown that skill, training, were knocked out by the IMPROVED MACHINE.

To take one more instance, that of the industry of tanning of leather, to quote from the same report, "by reason of improved machinery, there has been a constantly decreasing demand for skilled workmen. Women and girls are now performing the work formerly done by men. In 1890, a 'shaver,' who had to serve an apprenticeship of several years before he became a skilled workman, received as high as $6 a day at hand work. In 1900 he had been quite generally supplanted by the 'handy man,' who did the same work by machinery, accomplished four times as much, and received perhaps a third of the pay." So that by an increase of 86.7 per cent. in value of machinery, 18.5 per cent. more products were turned out by an increased force of 22.9 per cent. more workers—who worked at a sum of wages only 6.3 per cent more than the old total.—Here once more, and strikingly so, were skill and training and apprenticeship knocked out by the IMPROVED MACHINE.

Apart from the absurdity of 2,000,000 organized workers, all there are in the country, being able to determine conditions for 29,287,070, the working population of the country, Van Cleave's statement is hopelessly false. Apprenticeship was killed, "virtually" and "entirely," by the IMPROVED MACHINE.

Who introduced those machines—the labor unions? No; the Van Cleaves! Who killed the apprenticeship system? The Van Cleaves!

There is in the Hartz Mountains a peak, called the Brocken, from which the traveler sees, reflected on a column of mist, his own shadow, distorted, aping and grotesquing his own actions till they assume a truly frightsome aspect, appearing to be a demon menacing the beholder. Van Cleave, who attributes to the labor unions the very deeds of his own class, the manufacturing capitalists, is on the Brocken.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—To hell with the Unions! There is no use bothering with them! We must devote all our time to building up the political organization of the workingmen. Let's save ourselves the annoyance of these union wrangles!

UNCLE SAM—Not quite so fast. Do you recognize that dual, or competing unions, are a symptom of the declining chances of the union, due, in turn, to capitalist concentration, and all that is thereby implied?

B. J.—I never thought of that before—but I guess that's so.

U. S.—It is, indeed! First, kindred and existing unions begin to quarrel about "jurisdiction," and next the dual or competing, union springs up. Now, just join the last two points together, and what do we find? We find that, so long as unions have a chance, they will exist, and in the measure that the chance declines without being wholly destroyed, the dual or competing union will spring up. If you admit ten more years of competition, but of simultaneous declining chances for the union to resist capitalist encroachment, can you escape the conclusion that, the two causes co-operating, dual or competing unions will increase in number and that the "jurisdiction" fight will grow in bitterness?

B. J. (reflects with puckered brow)—I cannot escape the conclusion. It is correct!

U. S.—Of course it is! We see the fact all around us. "Jurisdiction" fights galore among the old unions, and competing unions springing up everywhere!

B. J.—That's so!

U. S.—Now, Jonathan, keep the strings of your thinking cap fast. The crucial point is coming that will put the strings to the utmost test.

B. J.—I'm ready.

U. S.—Your political movement is to be made up of workingmen, you say?

B. J.—I do.

U. S.—Do you stick to that?

B. J.—I do.

U. S.—And increasing numbers of those workingmen will be either in unions that are fighting each other on the "jurisdiction" issue, or in competing unions—all of them hurling at each other the epithet of "scabs"?

Thick drops of perspiration gather on B. J.'s forehead.

U. S.—Will they not? Will not increasing numbers of workingmen be in each other's hair from opposing union camps?

B. J.—They will.

U. S.—Now answer up! And straight forward! Do you imagine that workingmen in one another's hair, acting like wild Indians on the economic field, will behave like cooing doves inside of your workingmen's political organization?

B. J.'s forehead is bathed in perspiration.

U. S.—Do you, in other words, imagine that with pandemonium reigning on the economic field, outside of your political organization, you can have, within the organization, that same element comporting themselves as if in church?

B. J. fidgets from one leg to the other, mopping his forehead.

U. S.—Do you, in short, imagine that a workingmen's political organization can escape what you call "the annoyances of union wrangles" if these annoyances affect their economic organization?

B. J. looks as if he were on the point of exploding.

U. S.—No answer?

B. J. (making a supreme effort)—No!—It is nonsense!—The thing is unimaginable. No peace can reign within a workingmen's political organization if war reigns without in their economic relations with one another.

U. S.—Now, what becomes of your plan "to let the Union Question go to hell," "not to bother with the unions," and to "save yourself the annoyance of all those union wrangles?"

B. J.—Gone up the flue! Smashed, by Jericho! Knocked into a cocked hat, by thunder!

U. S.—I should gently stutter!

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

WHO CAN SPARE THEM?

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Anyone who can spare the following copies of the Weekly People: Aug. 11—'06; Nov. 24—'06; Feb. 24—'06; June 15 and 22—'07, kindly communicate with Otto Miller, 1333 Main street, Cincinnati, O.

Fraternally,
Otto Miller.

Cincinnati, O., May 20.

ONE MAN'S STORY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I earn from one to one and a half dollars less per day than I did before Feb. last. And then I have work for only three days per week. This is prosperity for fair, stove polishers receiving $1.75 to $2.00 instead of from $3.00 to $3.50 per day.

I would go miles to earn what I formerly did, but that is out of the question. Nothing remains but scrape for a living.

Workingman.

Weissnichtwo, May 15.

A VETERAN FURNISHES AMMUNITION FOR THE S. L. P. CAMPAIGN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Comrade Shepard B. Cowles of Sand Lake, Kent Co., Michigan, a veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars, 82 years of age, sends ten dollars, on list No. 749, as ammunition for our National Campaign. He writes that he is now helping to fight the grandest and noblest battle, the battle for the emancipation of the wage slave.

Paul Augustine,
National Secretary.

New York, May 21.

ON PARTY CONSTITUTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A comrade and I recently discussed Section 7 and amendment of the S. L. P. constitution which reads:

"No officer of a pure and simple trade or labor organization shall be a member of a Section."

Every economic organization that is not endorsed by the Socialist Labor Party or affiliated with it, is defined to be a pure and simple trade or labor organization. After arguing this over pro and con we came to the conclusion that this Section and amendment are at present productive of no good and consequently harmful to the best interests of the party. If a pure and simple labor organization can make an S. L. P. man corrupt, and loyal to their organization, the sooner they do it the better it is for the S. L. P. Such a man is never any good to stand the final test, and the sooner the S. L. P. members know it the better it is for them.

This article may provoke some discussion, which I believe it should before the next S. L. P. convention. If I am wrong I want to be convinced of it.

M. L. H.

New York, May 21.

A CLOSING WORD.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I notice with interest the letter of comrade Ross of Goldfield, Nevada, in the editorial of the Daily People of May 12th and, as a fellow worker in the I. W. W. and a comrade in the S. L. P., would like to suggest the following idea:

There is no connection between the S. L. P. and I. W. W., the I. W. W. going its course as the economic organization of the working class regardless of any political party. If "it has gathered the strength and virility sufficient to enable it to give expression to its political aspirations through its own organization," why don't it do it? The S. L. P. has no string on it and is not doing anything to prevent it.

The mere fact that the I. W. W. has not done it, is sufficient evidence that it has not yet gathered "sufficient strength and virility," and when that period of development has arrived, it will do it, in spite of the fact that any political party is in existence.

Until that time, it is the height of nerve for the self-imposed mentors (of the I. W. W. membership), who constitute the slander-bund who are now knocking the S. L. P. and carrying on a contemptible campaign of personalities, to ask that those of the working class who believe in political action in its fullest sense, shall disfranchise themselves until the "I. W. W. political committee" appears on the field.

And then God help the working class if the "committee" is composed of the intellectual(?) giants of the Williams and Ebert type.

Let the I. W. W. go ahead, and when it gives political expression to its aspirations in accord with the principles on which it is based the record of the S. L. P. in the whole period of its history is proof positive that it will not be found wanting.

The atrophied parts are dropping out of the S. L. P.

Jas A. McConnell,
N. E. C. Member for Pennsylvania.
Pittsburg, Pa., May 18.

A VOICE FROM THE MASSES.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I belong to neither the Socialist Party nor the Socialist Labor Party. Some three years since I got to reading the Appeal to Reason. After reading it about a year I thought I was a Socialist. When I joined the Socialist party. I thought I was a full-fledged Socialist, able to preach its doctrines and down everything that opposed me. In fact, I felt I was John the Baptist. All this time I had never heard of the S. L. P.

One day I came across a member of the S. L. P., a sort of a polite tramp. He talked so different from the Socialist party that I thought he was full of wheels. He downed me so easily and so nicely in my pet errors that I got fighting mad. But after listening to him a short time I turned from preacher to student. Now that I have been reading The People I find the two Socialist parties are not one and the same thing.

I am traveling all the time and I find most of the members of the S. P. know nothing of the S. L. P. and its literature. And I also find that the officials of the S. P. don't want them to know the sound and clear principles of the S. L. P. I also find that outside of the cities the membership is mostly composed of farmers and merchants who talk worse rot on labor and capital than the Populists, Democrats and Republicans. I have had several farmers and merchants tell me they were wage workers, for the reason they made no more money than the man in the factory. Many talk of issuing bonds to buy the factories and railroads, and so on and so forth.

The members of the S. L. P. that I have come in contact with never talk such rot. I don't think the S. P. and S. L. P. can any more unite than tar and water can mix. Your party can think itself fortunate that the S. P. leaders refused to unite. But I find that 95 per cent. of the rank and file are for unity. But in the rural districts you had better keep 90 per cent of this rank and file out of the S. L. P.

Charles Sherwin.

Macon, Ga., May 18.

STREET MEETING IN CHICAGO.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I held an open-air meeting at the corner of Peoria and Madison streets. I explained how the capitalist destroyed tons of chickens and millions of turkeys and millions of dozens of eggs in order to make prices go up, while hundreds of thousands of men, women and children were starving to get something to eat. A fellow in the crowd shouted that the capitalists ought to be arrested for raising the rents of houses and burning up dressed poultry. I told him that as the capitalists controlled Congress, courts, judges, governors and all other officials, they were safe. I asked who would do the arresting since they controlled the police? The questioner moved away.

After speaking on the A. F. of L. craft unionism and how each craft had craft autonomy, and how each craft union stayed at work helping the strike breakers to run the industry when any part of the workers went on strike, thereby helping the bosses to break the strike, I showed how the working class must train itself to go into the mills, mines and factories to continue producing wealth, and also train itself into keeping the products of its labor without asking the capitalist whether he likes it or not. Capitalist newspaperdom was next handled. It was shown whenever there was a strike on, the "public press" would start out and give the strikers right, while some of the capitalist papers would not, but the one that would give them right would eventually mould the minds of the people to show that the strikers were wrong.

The speaker took up the Daily People and showed that the working class controlled it, and showed how it stood up for the working class first, last and all the time. It was therefore up to the working class to help to support it. We had about 30 copies of the Daily People and were offering them for sale when a policeman came up in a rough manner and asked, "Have you got a permit to speak here?" I said I did not know I had to have a permit to speak here any more than the fellow across the street who was also speaking. "Well," said the cop, "you are on a box, and the crowd is around you. You will have to break it up. Break it up! Break it up!"

Just then some one in the crowd had a permit for the S. L. P. to speak and stated that he was holding the meeting, so the policeman started to walk off. I explained that the capitalist would stop at nothing in order to keep us in ignorance, and that it was necessary to help keep our paper a-going so that we may educate one another throughout the world. Up now stepped a fly cop in citizen's clothes and ordered me off the box. I stated to the crowd that I would have to stop or go to jail, but I would be back next Saturday night. However, another Daily People hustler managed to give out the rest of the Daily Peoples that we had and some leaflets on Industrial Unionism.

W. E. Kern.

Chicago, Ill., May 16.

AN EDITOR'S LIES NAILED DOWN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The following letter was sent by me to the paper indicated, and, of course, not published:

Editor "Murphysboro Independent":

Sir:—My attention was called to your squib of slander which was reproduced in the "Du Quoin Evening Call" of the 5th inst., relative to a meeting of Anarchists being held at Christopher, etc., etc. Sir, this is dastardly lie. I care not where you got your information. It is another lie when you say the Government and all in authority were denounced.

An intelligent man if honest, or an honest man if intelligent, would never make such wild-eyed statements on supposition. Sir, for your information as well as others', will inform you this meeting was held under the auspices of I. W. W. The 4 local unions—of Du Quoin, Herrin, Bush, and Christopher combined and celebrated the First of May, International Labor Day, set apart by the Congress of the International Workingmen's Association held in Paris, France, in 1889, when the agitation for the 8-hour work day started; and, Sir, the Red Flag is not an emblem of Anarchy.

How well would the capitalist class like the people to believe this emblem represents their blue blood spilt by the Anarchists of their own class, as records will prove, if not directly then indirectly. But, Sir, it is an emblem of unity of the workers of the world: no more blood of our class should be spilt on the battlefield; no more food for cannon for us. But, Sir, these were not flags at all, only emblems marked "I. W. W.," "First of May — International Labor Day," "Workers of the World Unite," etc., etc.

Do not fear, Sir. The workers will meet the capitalists on the civilized field of argument, and even the ballot box. And, Sir, as I was the speaker in English, and Chas. Vernetti, of this place, in Italian, let me assure you that neither would attack individuals, only wherein they represent some principle; and then not so much them as the principle they represent. But, Sir, we did roast the system wherein people suffer in the midst of plenty through enforced idleness due to panic, due to the sufferer's only receiving one dollar out of each five he produces, as Uncle Sam's books will prove.

If you would like to read up on Socialism and the I. W. W., send to the Labor News Co., 28 City Hall Place, New York.

Now, hoping you will publish this for the sake of truth, I remain,

Yours respectfully,
John M. Francis.

Du Quoin, Ill., May 10.

FACTS GALORE ON CRAFT UNIONISM.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The incapacity of craft unions to accomplish results when the employers care to oppose them has been signally demonstrated in our city during the last two or three years. What I say can be credited, for it is based on my personal observation of, and contact with, four strikes, all of which were general.

About three years ago the local lodge of the I. M. U. went on strike in obedience to a call from grand lodge. This strike affected a large plant near my home, and there I watched the progress of the battle. Scabs were soon secured, and castings, which gradually improved as the strikebreakers acquired skill, were turned out. The product was sent to the various patrons of the foundry company, and there machined by I. A of M. men. (By the way, one lodge of the scab-assisting machinists donated twenty-five dollars to the moulders' strike fund.) For almost two years the I. M. U. local put up a fight worthy of better results, but at last was forced to surrender. The triumphant capitalists knew that they had considerably increased the supply of skilled labor by adding the scabs who before the strike, perhaps, never saw molten metal flow. Now they employ moulders under conditions and for wages entirely decided by themselves.

The local union of the commercial telegraphers went out during the big national strike last summer, but their efforts were fruitless. They traveled the thorny path of the moulders, only many times faster. The railroad keymen, on whom the C. T. U. had scabbed three years before, got back at the latter organization good and plenty. As usual, craft unionism suffered a crushing defeat.

About the time that brother capital was laying the stick on the telegraphers' union, the contract machinists in St. Paul and Minneapolis went after more wages and other improvements, but they only got trouble. They traveled the road along which they had helped the moulders and soon went to pieces on the rocks of defeat. The two or three locals involved were badly crippled; and the supply of machinists increased by men who before the strike didn't know the difference between a pneumatic riveter and a lathe. The capitalist is keenly alive to his gains, and now when you get a job you stand with your hat in hand while your "brother" decides how much he will pay you, and how long he will work you.

The story of the boilermakers' strike is a repetition of the foregoing disasters. I am an I. A. of M. member and have worked with boilermaker scabs, and know that they can handle the work pretty well after six or eight months' experience. The railroad boss that employs me is at this time working his boiler-shop almost entirely with men trained during the strike. The sooner tradesmen learn that there is nothing mysterious about their craft; that it takes no supernatural ability to do their work, the better it will be for their class. Wages in this trade have fallen four cents an hour since the strike began.

"Prosperity," too, has visited us of late. An uncle of mine, a sober, industrious and reliable man, willing and anxious to work, and with others to support, has been able to find work for little more than half the winter. He is only a sample of scores of experiences during the past season. The Great Northern Railroad Company cut an hour off the workday, and reduced the wages of the laborers so that that class of worker received but one dollar and twenty cents per day. The G. N. R. R. Co. also shut down every shop on its system for eight days in January, four days in March and four in April. Not content with this retrenchment, on May 8 it laid off two hundred and fifty men—machinists, laborers, scab boilermakers and blacksmiths.

Sometimes I wonder if when these men, so near together in modern industry, but so far apart in their organization and their attitude, received their commission from the one cruel master; a thought of their common cause did not flicker in their minds. Where was the craft union then? Did it hold out any hope to the loyal men amongst those laid off. No! It extended to them no more hope than it did to the jobless scabs. The craft union bows to the present system of labor exploitation as inevitable and final. It recognizes no such thing as progress. The light which it once carried has long since gone out, and the wick gives off smoke and smell.

My faith in craft unions is shattered and gone, and I pin my faith to the I. W. W. May its grand message soon give the proletariat new hope.

Experience.

St. Paul, Minn., May 14.

DEPTHS TO WHICH THEY WILL STOOP.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—"Vox Populi, vox Dei." If the "Voice of The People is the voice of God"—then the voice of God has gotten me "yumped from my yob," to use an expression quite common in northern Minnesota.

As the readers of The People know, the Duluth Herald, knowing where to get accurate news about its own city, copied my letter which had appeared in the former publication, to wit, The People, giving me the benefit of its "wide circulation" in the vicinity. One might be pardoned for thinking, if not for saying, that it would be better for the inhabitants of Duluth to buy The People direct and get the truth about my letter which was widely read in the courts of northern Minnesota first-hand. At any rate the Herald published and commented upon, intelligently and otherwise.

Now, I worked for the Lantry Construction Company, which has the contract for excavating the tunnel that is being built for the Wisconsin Central Railroad, carrying its track into Duluth. The Lantry Co. had me for a foreman on the night shift, and comrade Jones for day boss. The Lantry Co. had a walking boss called Rettiger, who began a campaign of petty annoyances against both of us, especially Jones. I, being of a more quiet and even temperament, was not so much affected by the flea biting tactics. The word was passed that "no one could get a job in the tunnel but a Socialist while these two 'red necks' were bosses there."

Now, "fun is fun," as I often heard when I was a boy, but we must draw the line somewhere, and the Steel Trust, which infests that region, does not seem to be possessed of anything like a sense of humor. Humor is a sense of proportion, but what do you think of the sense of proportion of a large institution which, in order to get rid of one Socialist, or possibly of two, would try to blow into infinite space a ton of dynamite with all the surrounding landscape, including a red-headed hoisting engineer, a forty horse power boiler and engine, to say nothing of a tunnel, and twenty-five or thirty ordinary tunnel workers, together with any incidental victims that might happen along? They might have tried to make the slaughter at least local.

Well, on Monday night, about the witching hour when graveyards yawn and graves give up their dead, the aforesaid red-headed engineer, Frank Cullen, came into the tunnel, showing marked signs of mental perturbation. He called me one side and said, "Flynn, there are two men prowling around the tunnel; they have been around all night, and they were sneaking up to the powder house, one of them with a package in his hand. When I started after them they ran away." I might remark that Mr. Cullen is lame, the result of one horrible accident of which he was the innocent victim, but Cullen is strong as a horse and as courageous as a lion. He also has a wicked Irish temper, and I could warrant that if he had caught those two Christian gentlemen, the Steel Trust would have been minus a couple of valuable Pinkertons.

There is about a ton of dynamite always stored, contrary to law, in the powder house, which is situated about 100 feet from the engine house, near the mouth of the tunnel, and if it had gone to glory, there would have been no hoisting engine, and probably no tunnel. Incidentally, Flynn, and perhaps Jones, would have been abolished or discredited—a consummation devoutly desired in the vicinity of that capitalist Hell which is maintained in that section by the Steel Trust.

On learning from Cullen what he had seen, I had a young man, named Johnson, stationed near the powder house. I gave him a hammer-handle in his hand, and told him to lay out anyone that approached it without giving a good reason. We had no more trouble that night, and the next day we put an electric light over the powder house so that no one could approach it without being seen.

Wednesday night, 6th inst. Mr. Rettiger came into the tunnel and gave me orders to omit "plumb posts" from under the timber of the work. Anyone who knows anything about tunnel work will instantly see that only a crazy, or a drunken man would give such orders. Carrying them out would inevitably result in the entire workings coming down, burying us all under the ruins. It would no doubt take weeks to get our bodies out, and people would probably say it was our own foolishness that had resulted in our deaths.

I took the order quietly, for I saw that the man had been drinking heavily, and was probably acting on his own foolish ideas, or that he was the blind tool of some designing scoundrel. I do not impute any criminal motive to him, as I do not think he had the brain to conceive any such stupendous piece of rascality. However, just then Jones happened along, and when Rettiger repeated the order to him, Jones instantly denounced it as a scheme that would result in wholesale slaughter. Jones threw up the work right there, and there was nothing for me but to do likewise.

I have told nothing above that I cannot corroborate by witnesses, which I am ready to do at any time.

New York, N. Y., May 13.

Thomas Flynn.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

F. C. F., WORCESTER, MASS.—The Socialist Labor Party is not the political reflex of the I. W. W. It is not, for two good and sufficient reasons:

1st. The S. L. P. preceded the I. W. W. for many a year. Reflexes follow, they do not precede.

2nd. The I. W. W. is not yet mature and homogeneous enough to cast any political reflection of itself.

F. O., BROOKLYN, N. Y., AND ALL OTHERS TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—Impossible to print all the excellent letters sent in against the Ross, Goldfield, proposition. The letter from the Pennsylvania N. E. C. man closes the discussion—unless, of course, the N. E. C. otherwise orders.

F. C. R., ASHVILLE, N. C.—Why could not the Government establish people's banks and loan the fraternally and industrially organized workers the necessary capital? For the simple reason that the day "the Government" would be ready to do so, the "fraternally and industrially organized" workers won't need any loans from "the Government": they would be in possession of all the capital themselves: furthermore, that day "the Government" will realize that its only work to do is to adjourn sine die: the representatives of the "fraternally and industrially organized" workers would be the Government de facto.

A. B., NEW YORK.—Write to Albany.

G. R., ROANOKE VA.—Don't mention it! The "meek conduct of Jesus" as an example to follow "so as to avoid enemies"! You seem to have forgotten how Jesus fared.

J. H., LEOMINSTER, MASS.—If 4 carpenters work two months, and receive jointly in wages $624 ($3 a day apiece), the man for whom they worked has a value of at least four times what he paid. He would have $2,496; paid $624; pocketed, as the amount fleeced from the 4 carpenters, at least $1,872. How many houses would be built in Leominster if it cost $2,496 to build them? We understand this question to mean—how many houses would be built in Leominster if the 4 carpenters got all that they produced, in other words, how many houses would be built under Socialism? There would be built, in each such instance, 4 houses by and for the 4 carpenters themselves. The difference would be that under the present system 1 house is built for an idler by 4 toilers; under Socialism the idler would have to become a worker if he wanted to have a house.

Next question next week.

I. H. N., MT. VERNON, WIS.—The clippings are welcome.

W. J. A., NEW HAVEN, CONN.—No sense in answering them. Only fools object to being "dominated" by sense. The sensible man bows respectfully to reason.

J. B., NEW YORK.—Now to your third question—

The Socialist school of philosophy believes in majority rule. If the majority does not rule, then the minority must—with the result of Anarchy, disruption, and impotent standstill. Majority rule, however, does not exclude minority representation. Minorities must be respected, but they are not "everything and everything else, besides."

Next question next week.

F. F., HARTFORD, CONN.—The point is well taken.

J. K., TRAVERSE CITY, MICH.—"Good judgment."

S. T. P., CHICAGO, ILL.—"I had rather have a fool to make me merry than experience to make me sad" is a good enough motto for a love-sick Rosalind, but hardly the thing for a convention of men who claim to be looking a Social Revolution in the face.

A. B., NEW YORK—No doubt. Powerful is the capitalist, "single, and collectively as capitalism"; and more powerful will he yet grow. What of it? Socialism is sound like a mathematical problem, and being sound, is just. Thrice-armed is he who has his quarrel just.

J. S., NEW YORK.—Excuse us. Why should we spend time and space to "triturate Ebert's letter of resignation and other effusions"? The letters carry their own "trituration." The genius who, the instant his genius became incompatible with his continuance on The People, is of the opinion that the S. L. P. should disband, can not possibly be in sympathy with, and can not choose but be irritated at the editorial policy of a paper that holds that the S. L. P. should not disband. What is there left to "triturate"?

H. R., NEW HAVEN, CONN.—Read the two Eugene Sue stories, "The Pilgrim's Shell" and "The Iron Trevet." That will give you the essence of feudalism. As a purely scientific work, take Hallam's "Middle Ages."

W. C. W., CLEVELAND, O.—Appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, the Marxian law holds good to-day—"the number of laborers falls in proportion to the mass of the means of production worked up by them. An ever-increasing part of the capital is turned into means of production, an ever-decreasing one into labor-power."—The The number of workers is decreased "in proportion," that is, relatively.

H. C., PARAISO, C. Z.—Mr. James Connolly has "joined the majority"—dropped out of the S. L. P.

H. J. S., CHICAGO, ILL.; C. C. C., PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.; L. U. No. 320, I. W. W., WORCESTER, MASS.; T. M. H., FIELDBROOK, CAL.; E. C., PROVIDENCE, R. I.; A. J. F., NEW YORK; A. S., LOUISVILLE, KY.; G. G., NEW YORK; E. R. M., YOUNGSTOWN, O.; A. D., SAN JOSE, CAL.; C. A. W., LONDON, ENG.; L. U. 264 I. W. W., NOME, ALASKA; L. L., NEW ORLEANS, LA.; J. B., PATERSON, N. J.; J. L., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; O. F., COLUMBUS, O.—Matter received.

THE TRAVAIL OF THE I. W. W. CONSTITUTION.

[Legislation depends upon experience. The young constitution of the I. W. W. is undergoing a rude, it is to be hoped, wholesome test. The test is laying bare serious imperfections of constitutional structure. The imperfections are experienced through the excesses at the Chicago headquarters which convey the impression of a running amuck. For some time the Bulletin has been operated obedient to the private instincts of an Editor and a National Secretary, who have turned that organ of economic instruction into a political controversial sheet; have constituted themselves a Star Chamber towards organizations, and even a national officer, when these demand space for corrections; and, as a consequence, have attracted just the kind of contributors to the Bulletin whom such conduct is calculated to attract. In the midst of all this, there seems to be no superior authority in existence to check the evil. This points to constitutional defects. Publicity on the acts born of this defect are essential to remedy. For this reason The People will publish periodically under the above head a few of the more important of the large number of complaints that, by throwing light upon the constitutional defect, will aid in correcting the same.]

IV.

Seattle, Wash., April 29.—Your answer in the "Weekly People" of the 25th instant to W. A. S., Sydney, N. S. W., to the effect that the members of the S. L. P. in San Francisco or elsewhere have not withdrawn from the I. W. W. is not quite correct.

The fact is that most S. L. P. men in 'Frisco and other places on the Pacific coast have left the I. W. W. The reason for this is undoubtedly the petty internal strife, the disgusting tactics, pursued by I. W. W. Headquarters. And the chances that the S. L. P. men will rejoin the organization are very bad, at least while the present incompetents are at the rudder. The actions of the G. E. B. in disregarding the orders of the last annual convention in the matter of employing organizers, in nullifying the Constitution in the matter of paying per capita tax made us disgusted. We readily saw that if the New York 'longshore workers were admitted to the organization on the basis of paying two cents per member, that this would open the doors of the I. W. W. to a gang of pure and simple officer grafters from New York. We knew well that the proposition of their joining the I. W. W. was hatched by the officers of these organizations in connection with certain members of the I. W. W. in New York.

Then we have here on Puget Sound a freak by the name of J. H. Walsh, a fellow who is full of wind. He travels about the country and talks loud and long to anyone who cares to listen to him, and when he has done the talking he invites his audience to join the "Industrial Workers of the World." Once the wage slaves have joined the union he, Walsh, describes to them in glowing words how the I. W. W. is the organization which is going to emancipate the working class from wage slavery, etc. The next moment he starts to explain the benefits that flow from co-operation and commences to collect moneys from the members and the organizations, for the purpose of starting "restaurants," "lodging-houses," etc. in connection with the I. W. W.

When his schemes are developed and Walsh has the coin, all that he can collect as dues from the unions, by selling them I. W. W. due stamps, he then sends a receipt to Headquarters for the money collected, and vamooses to another city, where he does the same trick over again.

You will have noticed his bills of expenditures in the Bulletin for the month of February—$239.25;—talk about Sherman being extravagant! Many complaints have been made to Trautmann but he claims he can do nothing; I wonder what he is there for, then, if not to supervise organizing work and look after the welfare of the organization. I guess he is too busy pulling wires.

The I. W. W., S. L. P. and the Mills faction of the S. P. will celebrate the First of May jointly. Egan's Hall has been secured and the meeting is scheduled for 8 p. m. The following speakers will address the meeting: John Monette, S. L. P.; T. E. Latimer, S. P.; Gildo Biago, I. W. W., and Miss Anne Rynanen will speak in Finnish; the proceeds of the collection will be devoted to the I. W. W. propaganda.

Charles Nelson.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Henry Kuhn, National Secretary pro tem
28 City Hall Place.
CANADIAN S. L. P.
National Secretary, W. D. Forbes,
412 Wellington Road, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
(The Party's literary agency.)
28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE COMMITTEE

The S. E. C. of the S. L. P. of Pennsylvania met at 2109 Sarah st., on May 10, with Thomas in the chair.

Present: Gray, Weber, Clark, Thomas, Kephart, Rupp. Absent: Layton, Male, Markley, Drugmand and Herrington.

Minutes of last regular meeting read and approved.

Communications—From P. Augustine, giving information, and inclosing due stamps bought. From Section Philadelphia, vote on seat of convention, and order for due stamps. From Section Allentown, the same. From Section Allegheny Co., order for due stamps. From Branch Blythedale, vote on seat of convention. From Thos. Wielding and August Funka, members-at-large, vote on seat of convention. From Daniel Anderson, information relative to organization of Section in Kane.

On motion communications received, acted on and filed.

The result of vote for State convention being 30 for Pittsburg, 17 for Philadelphia, Pittsburg was declared the seat of convention.

Motion by Rupp that the convention be held at 2109 Sarah st., carried.

Motion by Rupp that a committee on arrangements for convention be elected, carried. Clark, Weber, Cowan and Rupp elected.

Motion by Kephart that secretary follow up matter of organizing section in Kane, carried.

Motion by Rupp that secretary secure nomination papers and necessary information from Secretary of State, carried.

Motion by Gray that secretary correspond with Augustine regarding Jaeger's availability and terms, carried.

Secretary instructed to notify sections to nominate for delegates to national convention and suggest names for Presidential electors.

On motion committee was elected to work in conjunction with like committee from Section Allegheny Co. in arranging excursions. Rupp, Clark and Weber elected.

Bills of E. J. Frank, and Branch 26th Ward ordered paid.

Warrant for $11.15 to cover expense of last month ordered drawn.

Motion to adjourn carried.

L. M. Barhydt, Secretary.

ILLINOIS ATTENTION.

The Socialist Labor Party of Illinois will hold a mass state convention on SATURDAY May 30th, (Decoration Day) 2 p. m. at Friedman's Hall, 876 Grand avenue cor. Western avenue. All members with paid up cards will be entitled to participate.

By order of Illinois S. E. C., S. L. P.
T. M. Davis, Sec'y.

OHIO STATE CONVENTION.

The state convention of the Socialist Labor Party of Ohio, will convene at 10 o'clock a. m., Memorial Day (May 30), at 111½ South High street, Columbus, Ohio.

The delegates will gather in the same building where we met last year. Comrades Oscar Freer and Emil Baer have made all arrangements and have notified the State Executive Committee to that effect. Any one wishing to know anything about arrangements can write to either comrade, 240 North Third street, Columbus, Ohio.

We hope to see a good number at the Convention.

Fraternally,
Ohio S. E. C.

SECTION MILWAUKEE.

Section Milwaukee will hold an important business meeting SATURDAY evening, May 30, at headquarters, Hoffmann's Hall, northwest corner of Fourth and Chestnut streets. All members are urgently requested to attend.

Al. Schnabel,, Organizer.

TO THE SOCIALIST WOMEN OF THE LAND.

The "Unity" pamphlets of the Socialist Women of Greater New York are ready. All Socialist women throughout the country interested in extending the unity education imparted by this pamphlet, containing the speech of Daniel De Leon, Editor of the Daily and Weekly People, are requested to place their orders as soon as possible and get their supplies of the Labor News Co., 28 City Hall Place, or of Anna B. Touroff, 508 St. Mary's St., New York City. Price, in bundles of 25, $1.00.

Yours for unity of the Socialist forces of America.

Socialist Women of Greater New York.

OPERATING FUND.

Comrades and Friends:—We must ask you to do either of two things: send subscriptions or support this fund. Last week the subscriptions to the Weekly People did not average one subscription per section. Needless for us to say more—you all know what it means here. So do either of the two things needful. We prefer the subscriptions.

Section Hartford, Conn. ..	$ 8.00
J. W. Leach, Providence, R. I.	$0.50
H. Mueller, Wilkinsburg, Pa.	4.50
J. P. Johnson, Bridgeport, Conn.	0.25
"All the Same"	$2.00
J. A. Quigley, Hyde Park, Mass.	1.00
W. Weiss, San Francisco..	1.00
A. C. Wirtz, Barstow, Cal.	2.00
I. Rosenblett, Tarrytown, N. Y.	0 50
G. Blickensdorfer, Cleveland, O.	$ 5.00
D. Craig, Milford, Mass. ..	1.30
C. Christensen, Jamaica Plain, Mass.	1.00
J. L. Hertsbrun, San Diego, Cal.	.75
F. W. Bosshard, Moorhead, Minn.	$ 5.00
Chas. Lengyl, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
V. Chupovich, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
L. C. Haller, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
Panama Boys:	
H. Cody	$ 10.00
"Come Again"	5.00
J. Brennen	2.00
J. Lissel	2.00
E. Felis	1.00
F. Schuler	1.00
E. Boggs	1.00
J. R. Sweeney	1.00
Harry Lake	1.00
C. Koehler	1.00
G. Fenton	1.00
M. Donohue	1.00
G. Zidbeck	1.00
S. Warjii	1.00
L. Warjii	1.00
J. Weiser	1.00
W. Culkins	1.00
J. D. Whelan	.50
R. Smith	.50
J. Calizo	.50
W. Downs	.50
D. Lyons, Bear River, Minn.	1.00
Total	$ 69.80
Previously acknowledged ..	2,302.07
Grand Total	$2,371.87

GERMAN PARTY ORGAN OPERATING FUND.

Previously acknowledged ...	$77.50
Julius Zimny, Ossining, N. Y.	.50
Section Allentown, Pa.	20.00
Per Jos. Kalasch, San Francisco, Cal. (Collection list No. 11)	26.35
Ch. Nelson, Cleveland, O. ...	1.00
Richard Koeppel, " ...	.50
H. B., Philadelphia, Pa.	2.00
Section Paterson, N. J.	5.00
German Branch S. L. P., Paterson, N. J.	5.00
O. J. Hughes, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Section Hartford, Conn.	25.00
R. Straubinge, Celebasas, Cal.	1.00
George Schlag, Peoria, Ill. ..	2.00
Section Newport News, Va.	5.00
D. Brown, Butte, Mont.	.50
Section Holyoke, Mass.	5.00
Total	$177.35

Comrades: In a circular letter which we have sent out to the Sections we have set forth that the further continuation and existence of our German Party Organ depends upon the possibility of paying off, within three months, an old debt of $600. All details have been explained in the circular sent out. For the last four years we have not molested the general party membership for any financial aid. Whenever we needed some funds we have appealed to the German party organizations exclusively. But pressing circumstances force us to extend this appeal now to the general party membership. If every comrade does a little toward this fund the task of raising these $600 will be an easy one. The Sections and comrades always have responded nobly to any call from the party institutions for help. We realize that this is not a very opportune time for our call but we see no other way but this appeal. Quick action is imperative. Send all contributions either direct to the SOCIALISTISCHE ARBEITER-ZEITUNG, 310 CHAMPLAIN AVE., CLEVELAND, O., or to Comrade P. C. CHRISTIANSEN, 2517 SCRANTON ROAD, CLEVELAND, O.

Appeal indorsed by the N. E. C. Sub-Committee.

The German Party Press Publication Committee, Section Cleveland, O., S. L. P.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

Kate S. Hilliard, Ogden, Utah	$1.00
Section Houston, Tex.	5.50
F. Shade, Wilkesbarre, Pa. ..	1.00
Total	$7.50

Paul Augustine, National Secretary.

MOVING FUND.

This report represents the final report of the Press Security League and closes up the Moving Fund account. All outstanding lists have been declared cancelled by order of the National Executive Sub-Committee. After this date the work of the Press Security League will be rendered under a new plan, details of which will be published in The People within a short time. Monies received in the meantime by regular contributors will be acknowledged in the first report that will be published when the new plan is started. The complete financial report is in the hands of the Auditing Committee of the N. E. C. and will be reported on in due time.

Dec. 5, 1907—	
San Antonio, Tex.	$1.50
Cleveland, Ohio	1.00
Dec. 29, 1907—	
A. Aderson, Port Angeles, Wash.	2.00
Roanoke, Va.	1.50
Jan. 4, 1908—	
List 414, Bishop, Cal.	1.00
Feb. 16, 1908—	
List 144, New York, N. Y.	.50
Roanoke, Va.	1.50
March 12, 1908—	
A. Anderson, Port Angeles, Wash.	1.00
San Antonio, Tex.	1.00
April 2, 1908—	
Los Angeles, Cal.	32.00
A. Anderson, Port Angeles, Wash.	1.00
List 322, Pasco, Wash.	5.00
T. J. Holmes, New York ..	1.50
May 20, 1908—	
A. Anderson, Port Angeles, Wash.	3.00
Total	$ 53.00
Previously acknowledged ..	3,553.50
Grand total	$3,606.50

A. C. Kihn, Sec.-Treas.
Press Security League.
Friday, May 22, 1908.

TO THE SECTIONS AND MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY:

Greeting:—The N. E. C. Sub-Committee, at its regular meeting held on March 11th, considered the question of how to raise a campaign fund, to make possible an energetic and effective propaganda during the approaching national campaign. A number of suggestions were made, which finally culminated in a motion to instruct the National Secretary to issue a call and, with it, send out campaign subscription lists, urging upon the members to take in hand, at once, the collection of funds on these lists and by no means to confine their efforts to the members and friends of the Party, but to reach out to the great mass beyond, whenever and wherever possible. In order to make unnecessary the circulation of local lists, simultaneously with national lists—a method which is always productive of confusion—it was decided that the proceeds be divided into three equal parts; one part to go to the national office; one part to remain with the States Executive Committee, and the third and last part, to remain with the Sections. Isolated Sections, unattached to a state committee, will send to the national office one-half of the proceeds and retain the other half. Members-at-large, who are attached to the national office, will remit to that office the proceeds, in full. The proceeds of lists collected on by members-at-large who are attached to a State Committee to be divided in two equal parts: one part to go to the national office, the other part to be retained by the respective State Executive Committee.

Amongst the many suggestions that were made at the Sub-Committee meeting, one in particular was considered to be of value, because the method, though not applicable in every instance, has proven successful wherever conditions were such, that it could be applied, and the suggestion made was ordered to be embodied in this call. It is this:

In the City of New York there have been held, repeatedly, so-called package parties in the homes of comrades. The package party is a home entertainment, to which friends and the friends of friends are invited. The ladies each bring with them a wrapped-up package, the contents of which remain unknown, until the packages are auctioned off. A programme of music and recitation preceeds the auction, and then the auctioneer has the field. Bids are asked for and the packages are sold to the highest bidder. Much merriment is created when the packages are opened, and the strangest and most incongruous objects are brought to light by the buyers. Where this method can be applied, we urge that it be so applied. It does away with all the expense of regular entertainments and the often interminable delay connected with the winding up of such affairs. When the package party is over financial results are known and there is an end to it. You will receive subscription lists, numbered consecutively, and every State Committee and every Section must keep a record of these numbers and see to it that, at the end of this year's campaign, all lists are strictly accounted for.

We urge speedy and energetic action so that we may be enabled to put organizers in the field at an early date. The present situation is such that our agitation is bound to meet with results beneficial to the Party. Not only are we in the midst of an industrial crisis, but in other respects also, there exists a situation exceedingly favorable to S. L. P. propaganda.

For the N. E. C. Sub-Committee.
Paul Augustine,
National Secretary.

HOW TO JOIN THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

All persons desiring to attach themselves to the Socialist Labor Party, either by the formation of a local organization known as a "Section," or by joining as members at large, may proceed as follows:

1. Seven or more persons may form a "Section," provided they subscribe to the platfrom and constitution of the S. L. P., belong to no other political party and are not officers of a pure and simple trades or labor organization.

2. Isolated persons, unable to find six others to join with them in organizing a "Section," but desiring to become members, may do so by becoming members at large upon signing an application card, subscribing thereon to the platform and constitution of the S. L. P. and answering other questions on said application card.

For application blanks to be used in the formation of "Sections" and for application cards for the use of individual members as well as all other information apply to the undersigned.

Paul Augustine, National Secretary—28 City Hall Place, New York City.

S. L. P. SUPPLIES.

Constitutions, a booklet with coated linen cover, containing also dues card, with spaces for dues stamps, a record of transfers, and the Party platform, per 100	$3.00
Application cards, with exposition of Party principles, same to be retained by the candidate; having also detachable application form, per 100	.40
Transfer cards, for use between Sections, and, on reverse side, for use between sub-divisions of a Section, per 100	.30
Delinquency blanks, which make easy the work of the Financial Secretary when notifying members in arrears, per 100	.30
Candidates' resignation blanks, provided for in Article XI., Section 8, of the Party Constitution, per 100	.30
Rubber stamps (seal), with arm and hammer emblem, made to order, each	.75

Orders for supplies must be accompanied by cash, it being contrary to the rules to keep credit accounts.

Address all orders to:
PAUL AUGUSTINE,
National Secretary.
28 City Hall Place, New York City.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ORGANS

Weekly People, 28 City Hall Place, N. Y., per year	1.00
Daily People, 28 City Hall Place, N. Y., per year	$3.50
Arbetaren (Swedish Weekly) 28 City Hall Place, N. Y., per year	1.50
Der Arbeiter (Jewish Weekly), 28 City Hall Place, N. Y., per year	.50
Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung (German Weekly), 310 Champlain ave., Cleveland, O., per year	1.00
Nepakarat (Hungarian Semi-weekly), 28 City Hall Place, N. Y., per year	2.00
Ragione Nuova (Italian Monthly), 206 Atwells ave., Providence, R. I., per year	.25

He who comes in contact with workingmen reading either of these languages should not fail to call attention to these papers and endeavor to secure subscriptions. Sample copies will be sent upon request. Address each paper as per address given above, and not as often the case to the Labor News.

Paul Augustine, National Secretary.
28 City Hall Place, New York.

FROM PANAMA TO ALASKA

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE WORK DONE BY THE ACTIVE BRIGADE—BUCKLE TO, EVERYBODY.

For the week ending May 22nd we received 111 subscriptions to The Weekly People, and 44 mail subscriptions to The Daily People, a total of 155 for the week. Those sending two or more were:

H. D. Froelich, St. Louis, Mo. ..	10
R. Strach, San Antonio, Tex. ..	5
T. Hitchings, Fieldbrook, Cal. ..	5
Press Com. Boston, Mass.	5
H. Cody, Panama	4
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M. Stodell, New Haven, Conn.	2
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E. Schade, Newport News, Va.	2

Section Hartford, Conn., is getting ready to do some propaganda work, they order literature to the amount of $38.75. Navigation to Alaska is open—an order for $36.42 worth of pamplets has come through from Fairbanks. Cincinnati takes ten of "The Poniard's Hilt," and Indianapolis two; Section Denver $3.00 for Preamble Address. Newark, N. J. order for $2.10; Newport News, Va., $2.25. Smaller orders are increasing in number.

The pamphlet: "Assassinations and Socialism" is ready for delivery, Five cents a copy, 25 copies $1.00. Printing of new supply of leaflets begins the coming week. Order now $1.00 per 1000.

Join the Active Brigade. Push the propaganda. Hustle in subscriptions and orders for literature.

CHILDREN'S HOUR

Dear little Comrades:—

One of the favorite Memorial Day recitations is named "You Put No Flowers on Papa's Grave." Of course, there were thousands of "boys in blue" as well as "boys in gray" who, with all their patriotism, went down to the grave "unwept, unhonored and unsung."

And as they were buried by hundreds in trenches, or perhaps their bodies never received burial, no loving relatives can very well get to the graves to decorate them. But there was hardly a soul that was offered on either side but had the tears of some one to mourn them.

In all wars there are those that fight, giving their lives for the cause, making glory for some others, yet themselves go down unknown.

But in the real, every-day battle of life, the struggle for existence, how many go down into death who never have their graves decorated? Why? Because the mine owners would harly find it profitable to decorate their mines as graves of hundreds of workingmen who lost noble lives in order to fill the pockets of greedy masters with profit.

They would have to decorate every oil well, every tunnel, every subway that was dug by man, as the graves of workingmen.

That wouldn't be profitable advertising, would it, dearies?

They would have to decorate the mills and factories, as well as the unsanitary dwellings of the working class as living graves, too—don't you think so?

And now the last word about all those real heroes who live and die so that the world may become a wiser, better, happier place for the children of men—the Galileos and the Marxes; the heroes who lived and fought to save humanity from ignorance and injustices; the thousands of heroes who have been or are to-day buried in Siberia, that we—yes, dearies, you and I—may have a free world to live in.

We can not decorate those graves with flowers; we must decorate them with noble, heroic deeds, flowers of Truth and Love.

Lovingly,
AUNT ANNETTA.

A QUESTION FOR YOU.

'Tis a very good world to live in,
To lend, or
To spend, or
To give in!
But to beg or to borrow,
Or get one's own;
'Tis the very worst world
That ever was known.

Who can tell us the author of this touching little stanza?

A LINCOLN STORY.

Dear little Comrades:—

No doubt you have all heard the story of the time when Abraham Lincoln was walking with a friend and they met a Negro. The Negro lifted his hat to the two men. Lincoln lifted his hat in turn to the Negro.

"Why did you do that?" asked Lincoln's friend of the President.

"Because," was the reply, "I cannot afford to be less polite than a Negro."

Now, little Comrades, can we, whether we're white or black, afford to be less polite than a Lincoln?

Then I'm sure you all remember reading of Lincoln's gentleness, not only to mothers who came to plead for pardons for their soldier boys, but also to little mothers of the field and forest.

One day Lincoln found that in a storm some little fledglings had been dislodged from the nest, and the mother bird was in great distress about it. Lincoln stopped and very gently put the little ones back in their home again.

Can we young Socialists, no matter how much strength we may have—and we need all we can develop—afford to be less gentle than a character like Lincoln?

Lincoln was once working on a farm, and when there was anything to be done he was always willing to do his share. No one ever heard him say, "That's not my work; let Bill do it."

Now, little Comrades, this isn't preaching; it is just common sense. The men and women we all admire are the all-around good-hearted, willing, brave people, who do the ordinary things so well that they get into the habit of doing all things well; and when the time comes to do anything great they just do it from force of habit.

Start in, little Comrades, and watch your chances, for with the great changes in your time the chances of being great in the Socialist Movement will soon be yours.

Yours lovingly,
UNCLE TIM.

ENGLAND'S ATTITUDE IN THE CIVIL WAR.

The other day one of my white hens had proved herself a failure in the sacred duties of motherhood. In short, the eggs would not hatch. So back to the run Mrs. Whitehen was escorted. But Mrs. Grayhen objected, and very strenuously, too. She did not know her old chum, and claimed that Mrs. Whitehen had forfeited all former rights to the enclosure.

To this Mrs. Whitehen responded as graciously, and for two days bloody combs was the style in the chicken yard.

But the interesting part to me was the attitude which Mr. Rooster took in this fight. At first he tried to take the part of one or the other, but after a few sharp cackles from Mrs. Grayhen, Mr. Rooster gave up the situation and struck up an attitude of neutrality.

The reason was obvious. His material interests made him forget his gallantry, and he let the ladies fight it out by themselves, after which he was a perfectly lovely friend to both.

Mr. Rooster, like all other mortals, is governed by his material interest. One of the questions in your history test no doubt will be: What was England's attitude towards America in the Civil War?

And your answer will be: At first England was neutral, but after a while, when the raw cotton supply had begun to run low, throwing England's textile industry into uncertainty, when the textile workers had no work and the merchants no profits—in short, when England's economic condition suffered by these two sections of the United States, the Blue and the Gray, the North and the South, fighting over control of government and industries, she dropped her neutral attitude and took an active part in the Civil War in America.

Do you see the point, children?

England was not in favor of slavery, for she had freed her slaves quite some time before. Why then did she not help the North? Why did she help the South?

Her material interest was COTTON, not freedom of human souls.

And so you, little people, who still have the opportunity to study history, just look for the REASON WHY in every struggle, whether between persons, nations and classes, and you'll learn the Why of all slavery, whether chattel or wage slavery.

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